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Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society from 10*th December* 1868 *to* 29*th November* 1869.

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PROCEEDINGS—*continued.*

PLATES.

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ART. IX.—*Serpent Worship in Western India. The Nágapanchamí Holiday as it is now observed; Serpent Worship, the Nágás and Sarpás.* By RA'O SA'HEB VISHVANA'TH NA'RA'YAN MANDLIK.

Read 13th May 1869.

I PROPOSE this day to describe the festival called the Nágapanchamí, as it is celebrated by our people at present; and afterwards I shall submit a few observations, founded on this and other festivals and ceremonies, on what is popularly called Snake or Serpent Worship, and the *Sarpás* and *Nágás* of India.

Nágapanchamí is the fifth day of the first or bright half of the lunar month, named S'rávaṇa, which generally corresponds with August and September of the Christian year. S'rávaṇa is a month in which the Hindus generally have some *vrata* or ceremony to perform every day, and sometimes more than one festival occurs on one and the

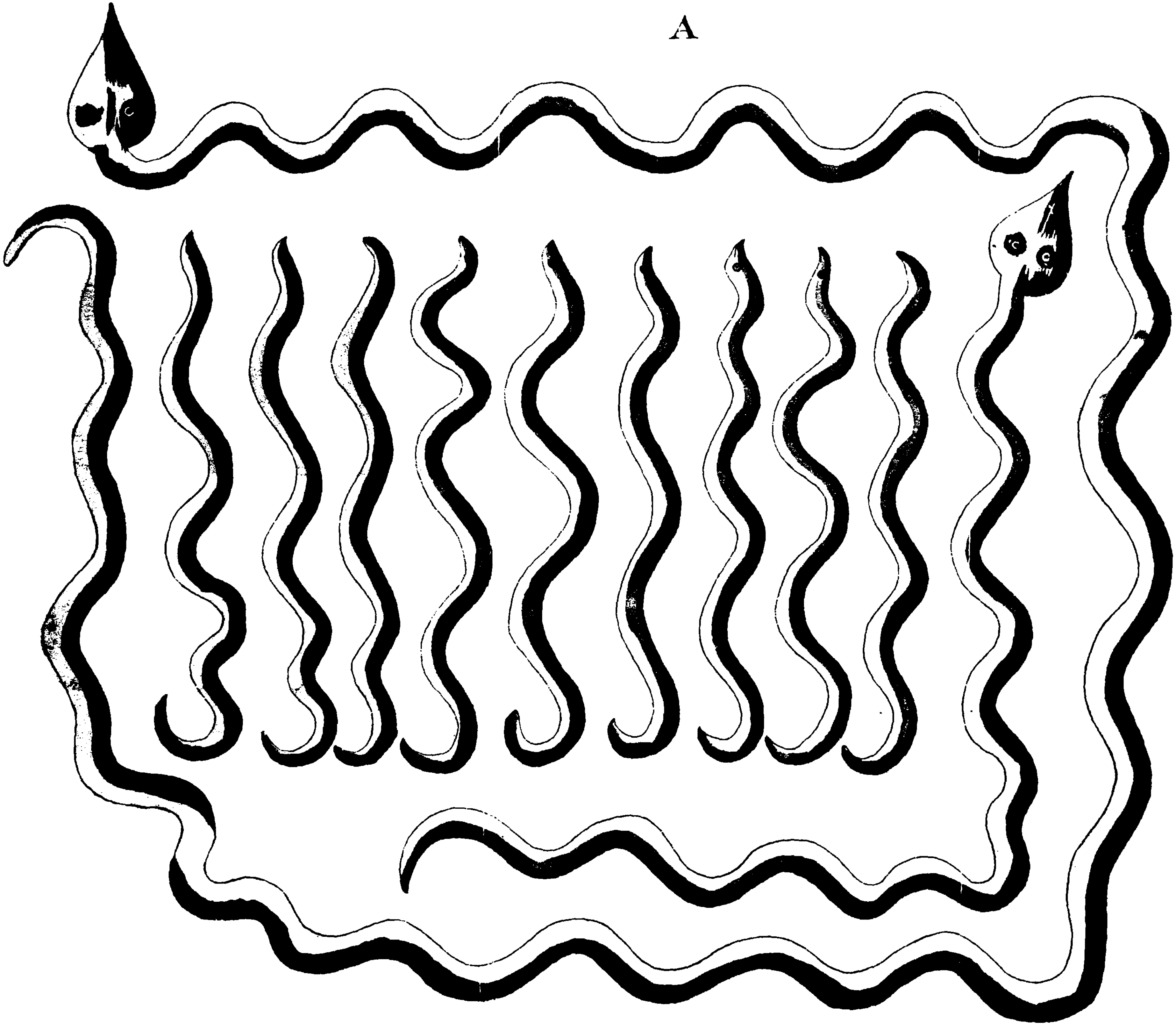
[1] This is the fifth month of the S'aka year, and is so named after the asterism S'ravaṇa (a Aquilæ), one of the 27 lunar mansions, which occurs in that month.

same day. The fifth day of the month is considered sacred to the *Nágás* or serpents. On this day, early in the morning, each family brings an earthen representation of a serpent, or paints a family of five, seven, or nine serpents with rubbed sandalwood or turmeric. (The annexed diagram shows the representation of serpents as they are actually worshipped on this occasion.) The vessels used in performing the worship are, as will be seen, placed in front; and I now show to the members specimens of these vessels made out of the horns of the wild buffalo.[2] Flowers, rubbed sandalwood, turmeric, parched rice and beans, or parched gram, and jowari (*holcus sorghum*) are offered to the serpents thus painted.[3] Lamps are lighted and waved; incense is offered; and food and fruits are placed before them. On this day, only boiled food is partaken of by the people, and the dishes prepared are generally of a coarser kind than on other holidays. After morning meals, a lamp is generally kept lighted throughout the day by the side of the painting or image, and milk and edibles are also placed close by. In the afternoon, people go to some place, generally an ant-hill, where serpents are said by local tradition to reside. Here, generally, snake-charmers may be seen with live serpents, to which offerings are made by the multitude. Even in Bombay, these men take snakes round to the houses of the people in the native town, and all classes of the inhabitants amuse themselves by giving them different kinds of edibles. In the evening, flowers and incense are again offered, lights waved, and edibles placed before the image or painting as the case might be, and one or more lamps are kept burning. The worshippers sit generally playing all through the night. This watching is called by some, keeping the serpents awake; or rather it is the worshippers keeping up for fear of being bitten by serpents. The worship is generally performed by the female members of the family, and at the conclusion, all the ladies and children gather together, and the eldest or the most intelligent of the former repeats the following *káháṇí* or story, which professes to embody the popular origin of this worship as it is believed in by the more ignorant of the Hindu community on this side. I give

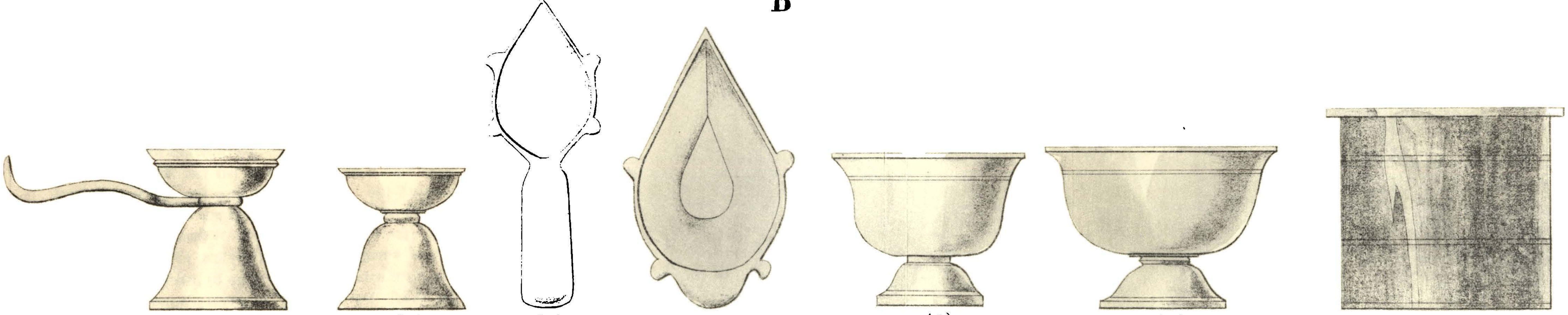
[2] These vessels are generally made of brass or copper, and also of silver, and can be easily had in the Bazaar. They are commonly used by all the Hindu worshippers in their daily ceremonials and devotions, as well as on extraordinary occasions.

[3] The figures, as shown in the diagram, are drawn either on a small board, or a wooden seat, or on a wall.

A



B



(1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7)

(1) धुपाटणें, *Dhupáṭané, i. e. Censer or Incense-pan.*

(2) निरंजन, *Niranjana, i. e. A metal Lamp-dish.*

(3) हलकारत, *Halkáratá, i. e. A long and shallow metal vessel used to contain the lamps which are waved round the head of an image.*

(4) अर्घ्या, *Arghyá, i. e. The vessel in which Arghya (an oblation of water) is offered.*

(5) पेला *(small) Pelá, i. e. A cup which contains sugar offered to an idol.*

(6) पेला *(large) Pelá, i. e. A cup used to contain milk offered to an image.*

(7) पंचपात्री, *Panchapátri, i. e. A little cylindrical metal vessel.*

the Maráṭhí narrative as it is now repeated, in a foot-note.[4] The following is a close English version of the story:—

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[4] **काहाणी नागांची.**

अइका परमेश्वरा नागानो; मणिपुर [माणिकपुर] नगर आहे; तेथें एक गावडा ब्राह्मण होता. त्याला नागपंचमी माहीत नव्हती, व त्या दिवशीं नागरूं खणूं नये, वेंचूं खुडूं नये, व भातूं पोळूं नये, हें त्यास माहीत नव्हतें; म्हणून तो नेहेमीं प्रमाणेंच त्यादिवशीं आपली शेतजमीन नांगरावयास गेला. तों शेतामध्यें एका ठिकाणीं नागिणीचें वारूळ होतें, व त्यांत तिचीं पिलीं होतीं तीं नांगर लागून मेलीं. नागीण फिरावयास गेली होती ती आली आणि पाहाते तंव सर्व पिलीं मेलीं. तेव्हां ती फार संतापून आणि कोणी पिलीं मारलीं याचा शोधा करितां निघाली. फिरत फिरत गावड्याचे घराकडे आली, आणि पाहाते तंव त्याचे नांगरास रक्त लागलेलें आहे; तें पाहून तिणें निश्चय केला कीं याणेंच माझीं पिलीं मारिलीं. म्हणून, गावडा व त्याचीं सर्व कुटुंबांतील मनुष्यें निजलीं होतीं, त्या सर्वांस दंश करून तिणें मारून टाकिलें, आणि त्याचा सर्व कुळाचा नाश व्हावा म्हणून त्याची मुलगी दुसरे गांवीं दिलेली होती तेथें तिला दंश करण्यासाठीं गेली. परंतु तिणें नाग काढून त्याची पूजा नैवेद्यसुद्धां करून, राखी धूप दीप नैवेद्य इत्यादि सुवासिक पदार्थ त्याचा पुढें ठेविले होते. तें नागिणीनें पाहून त्या ठेविलेले पदार्थांचा तिणें उपभोग घेतला, आणि संतुष्ट होऊन त्या मुलीस म्हणाली; "मुली तुझे बापानें आज माझीं सर्व पिलें जमीन नांगरतांना मारून टाकिलीं, म्हणून मी तुझा माहेरचीं सर्व मनुष्यें मारून तुला दंश करण्या करितां आल्यें होत्यें परंतु तूं एथें माझें स्मरण करून माझी पूजा केलीस याजकरितां मी संतुष्ट झाल्यें म्हणून तुला दंश करीत नाहीं". तें ऐकून मुलगी म्हणाली, कीं माझे माहेरचा सर्व मनुष्यांस मारिलीं आहेस, तीं पुनः संजीवन होण्यासाठीं काहीं उपाय सांग. तेव्हां ती म्हणाली "हें अमृत घे आणि त्याचा अंगावर शिंप, म्हणजे तीं संजीवन होतील." इकडे गावड्याचा गांवांतील लोक, गावडा अजून का उठत नाहीं म्हणून शोध करून त्याचें दार उघडिलें, तों सर्व मनुष्यें त्याणीं मेलेलीं पाहिलीं. तों इतक्यांत त्या गावड्याची मुलगी आली, आणि नागिणीने दिलेलें अमृत त्यांवर शिंपून संजीवन केलें. नंतर मुलीने बापास सांगितलें कीं नागपंचमीचा दिवशीं तूं नांगरीत असतां नागिणीचीं पिलीं मेलीं, म्हणून त्या रागाने तिणें तुम्हांस मारिलें, आणि मला मारण्या करितां गेली होती, परंतु मी नाग काढून पूजा केली होती, ती पाहून संतुष्ट झाली, आणि तुमची हकीकत तिणेंच मला सांगीतली व तिणें दिलेलें अमृत तुमचा वर शिंपून तुम्हांस संजीवन केलें. आतां, आजपासून श्रावण मास येईल तेव्हां शुद्ध पंचमीचा दिवशीं

"THE STORY OF THE NA'GA'S.

"Oh God! Nágás (serpents)! hear. There is a city (called) Máṇikpura [or Maṇipura]. In it lived a Gávaḍá Bráhmaṇa. He was ignorant of the Nágapanchamí. And he did not know that on that day there should be no ploughing, no digging, no picking and plucking, no burning and roasting. Therefore, he went to plough the land in his field on that day as usual. Now, there was in one place in the field a hole of a Nágíṇa, (a female serpent) and in it were her young ones, and they died by the striking of the plough. The Nágíṇa (the female serpent) who had gone out, returned, and found that all of her young ones had died. Thereupon she got enraged, and set out to ascertain who it was that had killed them. While travelling, she went to the house of the Gávaḍá, and saw that blood had stuck to his plough, on seeing which she decided that it was that (man) who had killed her young ones. She, therefore, bit the Gávaḍá, and all the members of his family who had gone to sleep, and killed them. And in order that his whole family might become extinct, she went to bite his daughter who was given [in marriage to a man] in another village. But she (the daughter) had painted the Nágás (serpents), and having worshipped them and given them offerings, had placed before them, at night, frankincense and other fragrant things, lamps, edibles, &c. On seeing this, the Nágíṇa enjoyed the things that had been placed there, and being pleased, said to the girl, 'Oh daughter! thy father killed all my young ones to-day, while ploughing the field; having therefore killed all the persons in thy maternal home, I had come to bite thee, but as thou didst remember me and worship me, I am pleased, (and) therefore, I do not bite thee.'

"On hearing this, the daughter said, 'thou hast killed all the persons in my maternal home; tell me some remedy by which they may come to life again.' Thereupon, she (the Nágíṇa) said: 'Take this

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नागाची पूजा यथासांग करावी, आणि रात्रौ धूप, दीप, नैवेद्य, पुढें ठेवावा, व या दिवशीं खणूं नये व हिंसाही कांहीं करूंनये. याप्रमाणें तो त्या दिवसापासून करूं लागला, व गांवांतील, सर्व मनुष्यांस नागपंचमी माहित झाली, आणि सर्व नागपंचमीचें व्रत करूं लागलीं. गावड्याचे मुलीस नाग प्रसन्न झाले; तसे आम्हां तुम्हां प्रसन्न होऊत. सांगत्यास; ऐकत्यांस; नागानों! तुमची कहाणी, साठां उत्तरांची पांचां उत्तरीं सांगितली, ती सुफळ होऊ।

nectar and sprinkle it on their bodies, and thereby they will come to life.' Meanwhile the people of the Gávaḍá's village began to inquire why it was that the Gávaḍá had not yet arisen, and, opening his door, found that all the persons in (the house) had died. Just then arrived the daughter of that Gávaḍá, and sprinkling upon them the nectar given by the Nágíṇa (female serpent), restored (them) to life. The daughter then told her father (as follows) :—

"'On the Nágapanchamí day, while you were ploughing the field, the young ones of the Nágíṇa were killed; thereupon, being enraged, she killed all of you and had gone to kill me; but as I had painted the Nágás and worshipped them, she became pleased, and it was she who gave me a narrative of what had befallen you ; and (I) restored you to life by sprinkling on you the nectar which she had given to me. Now, from this day, when the month of S'rávaṇa comes, (you) should worship the Nágás on the fifth day in the S'uddha (*i. e.* clear) fortnight according to the processes laid down, and should place before (them) at night, frankincense, lamps, (and) edibles; and should not dig and should not also kill (anything) on that day.' From that day, he (the Gávaḍá) began to act accordingly; the Nágapanchamí became known to all men in the village; and all began to observe the Nágapanchamí *vrata* (ceremony). As the Nágás were pleased with the daughter of the Gávaḍá, so may they be pleased with us, (and with) you. Oh, Nágás (serpents) may your story of sixty sentences (abbreviated into, and) told in five, be productive of good fruit to the narrator as well as the hearer thereof."

At the time of repeating the above story, the reciter and her female hearers each take a few grains of rice in their hands, and at the conclusion they are partly exchanged and partly stuck to their foreheads.

The worship is generally conducted according to the directions laid down in a work called *Vratarájá*,[5] which extracts it from the writings of Hemádrí.[6] These last are not now available, except when quoted in more modern treatises. The dialogue is introduced under the names of I's'vara, the third of the Hindu triad, and his spouse Párvatí. A king is described in the middle, whom it is not easy to identify from such a broken fragment. The whole passage in the original runs thus :—

[5] Vratarája [i. e. King of Ceremonies] is a modern compilation by Vis'vanátha Bhaṭṭa of Sangames'vara.

[6] Author of Chaturvarga-Chintámaṇi, and other works.

"अथ नागपंचमीव्रतम् हेमाद्रौ प्रभासखण्डे.– ईश्वर उवाच ॥ श्रावणे मासि पंचम्यां शुक्लपक्षे तु पार्वति ॥ द्वारस्योभयतो लेख्या गोमयेन विषोल्बणाः ॥ सा तु पुण्यतमा प्रोक्ता देवानामपि दुर्लभा ॥ कुर्यात् द्वादश वर्षाणि पचम्यां च वरानने ॥ चतुर्थ्यामेकभुक्तं तु तस्यां नक्तं प्रकीर्तितं ॥ भूरिचन्द्रमयं नागमथवा कलधौतजम् ॥ कृत्वा दारुमयं वापि अथवा मृन्मयं प्रिये ॥ हरिद्राचन्दनेनैव पञ्च सर्पास्तु लेखयेत् ॥ पञ्चम्यामर्चयेद्भक्त्या नागाः पंचफणाः स्मृताः ॥ पूजयेद्विधिवद्वीर लाजपञ्चामृतैः सह ॥ करवीरैः शतपत्रैर्जातीपुष्पैश्च पद्मकैः ॥ तथा गन्धादिधूपैश्च पूजयेन्नागपंचकम् ॥ ब्राह्मणान् भोजयेत्पश्चाद्घृतपायसमोदकैः ॥ अनन्तं वासुकिं शेषं पद्मं कम्बलमेवच ॥ तथा कर्कोटकं नागं भुजङ्गाश्वतरं तथा ॥ धृतराष्ट्रं शङ्खपालं कालियं तक्षकं तथा ॥ पिङ्गलञ्च महानागं मासि मासि प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ व्रतस्यान्ते पारणं स्यात्क्षीरैर्ब्राह्मणभोजनं ॥ सुवर्णभारनिष्पन्नं नागं दद्याच्च गां तथा ॥ तथा वस्त्राणि देयानि व्यासायामिततेजसे ॥ एवं सम्पूजयेन्नागान्सदा भक्त्या समन्वितः ॥ विशेषतस्तु पञ्चम्यां पयसा पायसेनच ॥ दिवा रात्रौ नरैस्तत्र मेदिनीखननं नहि ॥ इति प्रभासखण्डे नागपञ्चमीव्रतम् ॥"[7]

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE :—

"Now, the worship of Nágás on the 5th of S'rávaṇa S'ukla (*i. e.* the fifth day of the first or bright half of S'rávaṇa), (is thus described by) Hemádrí in the Prabhása-Khaṇḍá.[8] I'svara said, Oh, Párvatí! in the month of S'rávaṇa in the S'ukla [or white] fortnight, on the fifth day, the fierce with poisons [*i. e.* serpents] should be written [or painted] with cowdung on both sides of the door;

That day is called the most blessed, not obtainable with ease even by the gods;

Oh, beautiful-faced! This worship of Nágás should be performed on the fifth day for twelve years;

On the fourth (day, *i.e.* the day preceding,) one should dine only once; and on that day (*i.e.* the fifth), food should be taken in the night; so it is said.

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[7] Vratarája, leaf 71, page 1, lithographed editition, S'ak year 1782, A.C. 1860-61.

[8] Probably a portion of the Skanda Purána.

Oh, beloved! the Nága (or serpent) should be made of plenty of silver or of gold, or even of wood or of earth;

Or with turmeric or sandalwood, the five serpents should be painted.

On the fifth, the Nágás (serpents) should be worshipped with devotion; the Nágás are said to have five mouths;

These five Nágás, oh, warrior! should be worshipped in the proper manner: with fried rice and the five nectars;[9]

With the flowers of the oleander (*Nerium Odorum*); the hundred-leaved (the lotus); the jessamine; and the water-lily;

Also with sandal wood and incense;

Afterwards Bráhmaṇás should be feasted with ghee (clarified butter), boiled milk mixed with sugar, and sugared balls of (wheat and other kinds of) flour;

Ananta, Vásukí, S'esha, Padmanábha, and Kambala also;

And Karkoṭaka-Nága, Bhujanga, As'vatara;

Also Dhritaráshtra, S'ankhapála, Káliya, Takshaka;

Also Pingala, and Máhánága; these are worshipped month by month.

At the end of the *vrata* (or ceremony) there should be a *páraṇá*, or feast, and dinner to Bráhmaṇás with sugared milk;

To the Vyása (*i.e.* the reader of the Puráṇás) of immeasurable glory, a Nágá (*i. e.* serpent) of gold, and a cow, and clothes should be given.

In this manner, the Nágás should be always worshipped with devotion, especially on the fifth, with milk and sugared milk.

On that (day) there should be no digging of the earth, by day or by night.

Such is the *vrata* (*i.e.* ceremony) of the Nágapanchamí in the Prabhásakhaṇḍa."

The above description appears from the frame of it to belong to the post-puraṇika period; and the place which the preceding tradition assigns to the scene of serpent-killing, and the retaliation by the mother-serpent, may be Maṇipura (lat. 24° 20′ long. 94° 1′), a town in Assam,

[9] Milk, curd, ghee [or clarified butter], honey, and sugar.

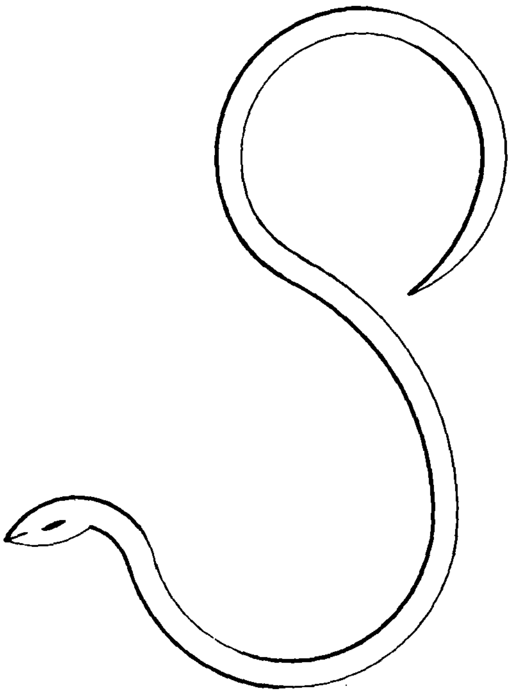
a province where a tribe of mountaineers, named Nágás, is living to this day. Whether Gávaḍá is a corruption of Gauḍ (a Bengáli), or a Canarese Gowḍá—a Patíl and cultivator, is also deserving of inquiry.

The account which I have given above, is that of the festival as it is observed in the Konkaṇa district, particularly to the south of the island of Bombay. The festival is, however, not confined to a particular portion of Western India. It is general. It is celebrated by all classes and sects of the Hindus; by the orthodox as well as by the heterodox; by the followers of the Vedas, as well as by those who reject the religious authority of those works. The ceremonial differs slightly in different places. In some districts the people observe a fast on the 4th day, *i.e.* the day preceding the Nágapanchamí. It is clear, however, that the festival obtains greater sanctity above the Ghauts than below, except perhaps in Gujarátha and in the province of Kánaḍá (or Canara). In the Sattara and Kolhápura districts, the private schools are generally closed on this day; the pupils are bathed, dressed in their holiday attire, and taken in a grand procession to some river, or other watering place outside the town or village. In Native States and Principalities, the state and its officers supply richly-caparisoned elephants, and horses, detachments of infantry and cavalry, and kettledrums and other instruments of music, on the occasion of these processions. The children wash their slates, or rather wooden boards, apply to them chalk or *S'áḍhú* (a kind of clay), and draw thereon a Nága or serpent (see C).

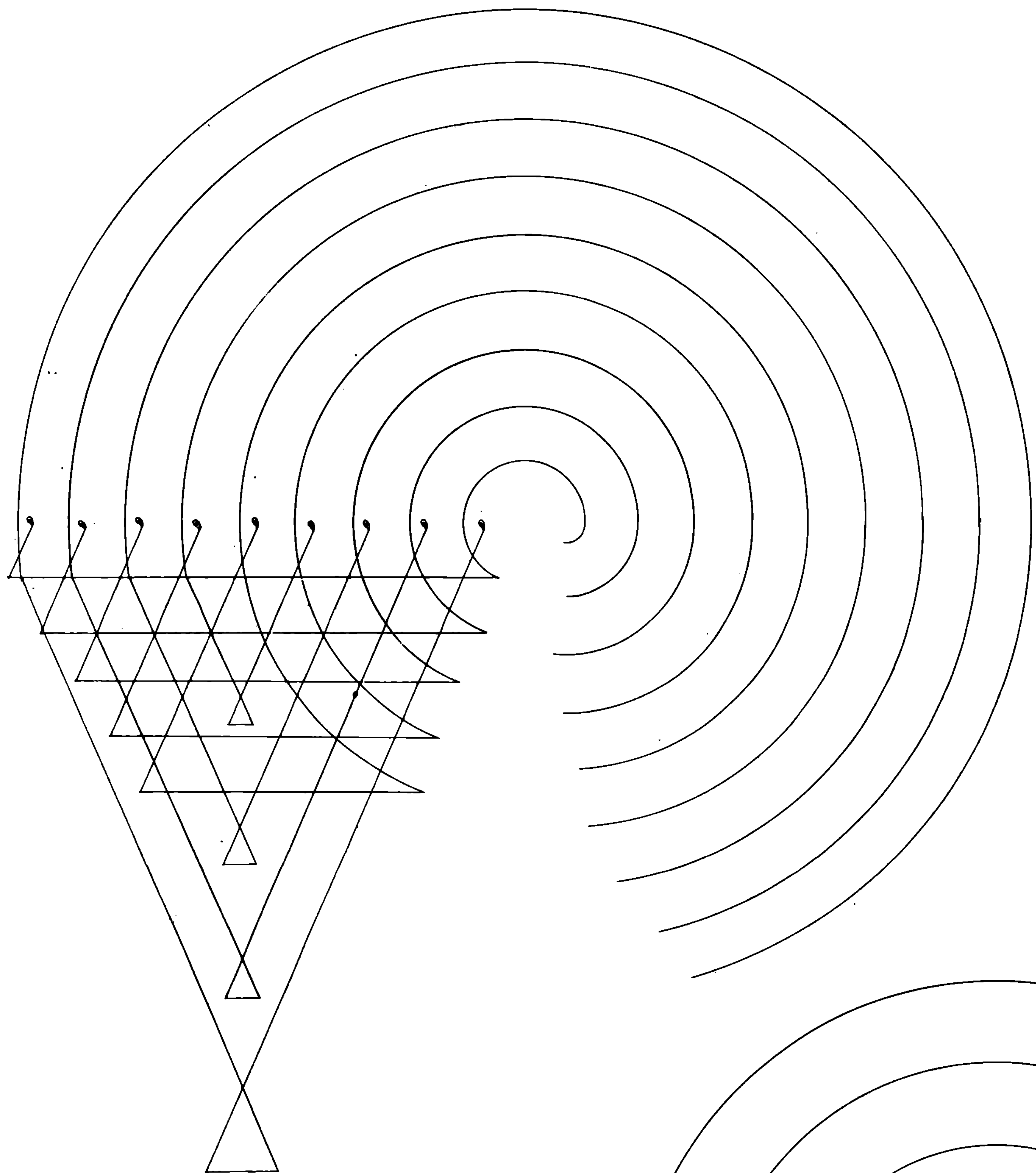
Some also draw a picture of *Sarasvatí*, the Goddess of learning. Ordinarily, this deity appears as a beautiful female seated on a peacock; but on this occasion, she is represented by a cluster of 5, 7, or 9 serpents rudely drawn (see D).

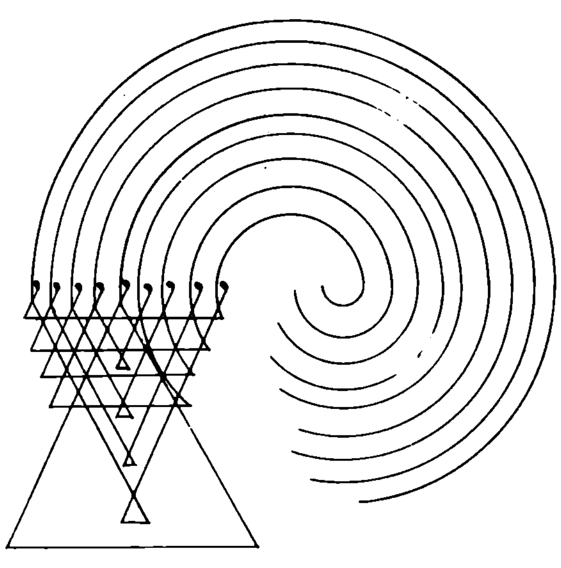
This drawing is then worshipped with flowers, parched gram, *jowári*, peas, &c. The children return in a procession to the school, give some present in corn, money or clothes, according to their means, to the master; and go to their homes to enjoy the holiday. In the afternoon the women of the inferior classes put on their best clothes and ornaments, and congregate in parties to sing and dance. They generally form circles, and, keeping their children in the centre, dance around, singing some country songs. In some provinces, the dancing takes place near an ant-hill, or the hollow of an old tree where serpents are believed to live. In some parts of the Dekkan, boys, on this day, throw little fruits, generally the fruit of Chirphala, at each other and

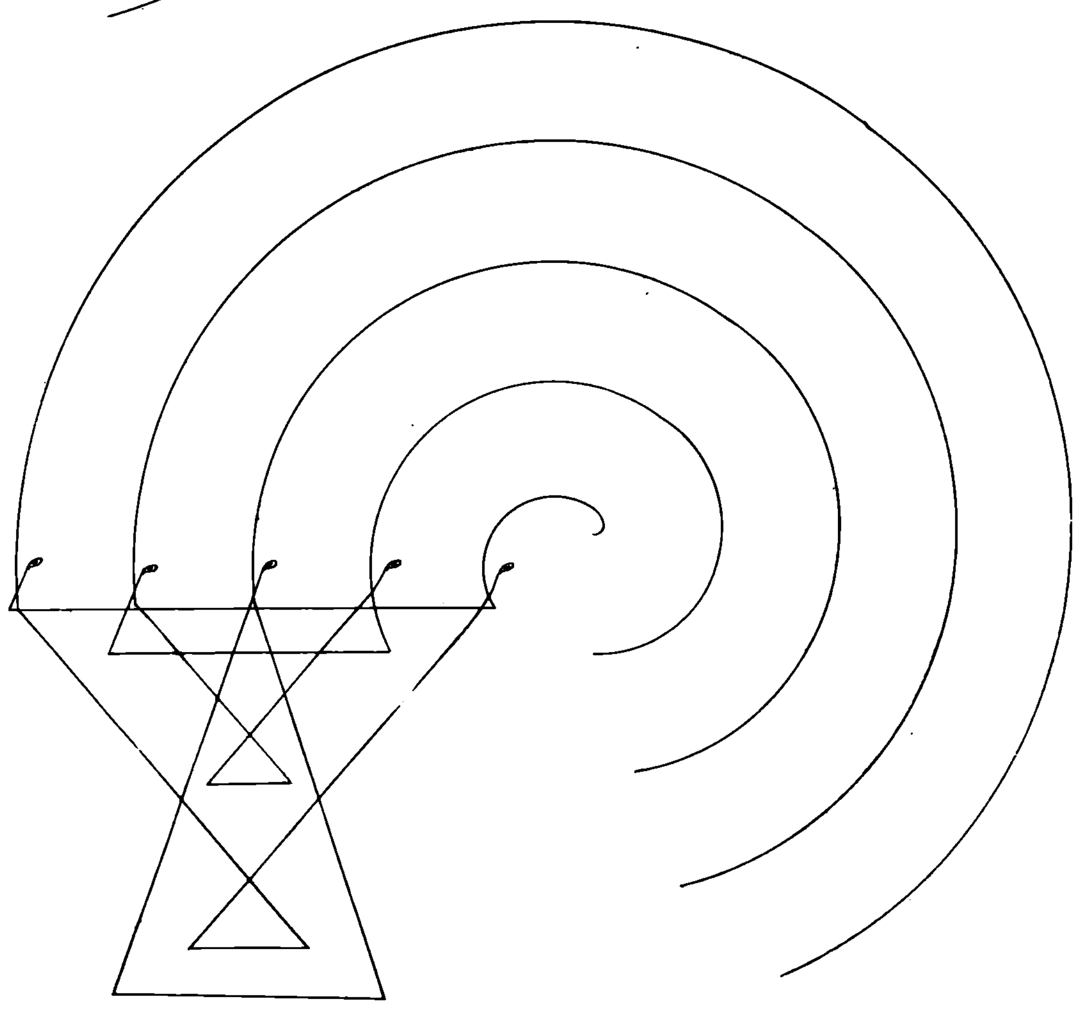
C



D







at young maidens by means of popguns. Other kinds of sports are also had recourse to. Before sunset, the people generally repair to an ant-hill or some such hollow as has been above referred to, to pay homage to the Nága. If there be a temple of the Nága in the village, every one of course goes there to perform worship. All afterwards return to their homes, and worship the images or paintings according to circumstances, in the manner previously described.

Battísa-S'iráḷeṇ, a town in the Sattara Collectorate (lat. 16° 57′, long. 74° 15′), is famous as a place of serpent-worship at the present day. Snakes of a certain species (called *Nágakulí*), said to be not very poisonous, are here actually caught on the day of the Nágapanchamí, and kept either in earthen pots or covered *bámbú* baskets. They are fed with milk and edibles, and worshipped in other respects, like the images and drawings above-mentioned. The day after the Nágapanchamí, they are taken back to the jungles and set free.

I will not at this stage offer any conjecture as to whether this serpent-worship has any relation to other systems of religion; but I would here note a curious tradition in connection with a tree of the species Gorakhachincha, (*Adansonia Digitata*)[10] or the tamarind of Gorakha, which exists at the above town. Tradition ascribes this tree to be the result of a miracle performed by a saint called Gorakhanátha or Gorakshanátha. It is related that Gorakhanátha, when he came to this town, struck his walking stick into the ground on the spot where the tree stands; and that it grew into a stately tree which is now an object of popular worship. The annual festival of this tree is held on the 11th of the dark half of the month of Chaitra.[11] Worshippers begin to come on the previous day, and leave the place on the third or the 12th of Chaitra. About 50,000 pilgrims are said to assemble every year on this occasion. A large bazaar is held for five or six days, and considerable mercantile business is transacted. The priests officiating at the shrine of this tree, have large holes bored in their ears, from which depend heavy ear-ornaments. They are hence called Kánaphâṭés, literally persons with torn ears. All classes of people offer worship to this tree, including the followers of the Vedás, as well as others.

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[10] See "A Catalogue of the Plants growing in Bombay and its vicinity.—By John Graham. Bombay: 1839:" page 16.

[11] Corresponds generally with March and April.

To resume the main subject of this paper. Besides the actual worship of living snakes at Battisa-S'irâḷeṇ, there are temples dedicated to the Serpent-god in various parts of the Dekkan. Of these, the one at Bhomaparâṇḍen in the territories of His Highness the Nizam is one of the most celebrated.

In the South of India, Canara is a district which may be said to be sacred to serpent-worship. In the Canarese districts generally, the Nágapanchamí festival is celebrated, as in the Dekkan, on the 5th of the bright half of S'rávaṇa. But in the Telanga and Támila districts, the ceremony is performed on the fourth of the bright half of either the month of Kártika,[12] or the month of Vais'ákha,[12] or the month of Mágha,[12] and this day is, therefore, called by the people of those parts "Nágalu-chavatí," *i.e.* the Nágachaturthí or the chaturthí of the Nágás. There is not much difference in the mode of performing the worship. The ant-hills or hollows to which the people resort to make their offerings, and which in the Maráṭhí districts are called Várúḷa, are, I am informed, termed in the Canarese, Hutta; in the Telangí, Puṭṭa; and in the Tamil, Puttu. In the Canarese districts, stone images of the Nága are kept generally under the shade of the *Peepul* tree (*Ficus Religiosi*). Metal images are also made, and after being worshipped, they are presented to the Bráhmaṇas. This ceremony is performed by the females of higher classes. An incarnation of S'esha, one of the nine great Nágás, is worshipped at various places in these districts, under the name of Subrahmaṇya. There is a town in South Canara, called Subrahmaṇya,[13] fifty-five miles, E. S. of Mangalore, (lat 12° 40′, long 75° 40′). This is sacred to the Nága or serpent-god. On the 6th day of the bright half of the month of Márgas'írsha (November and December) occurs its annual festival; and that day is hence called Subrahmaṇya Shashṭhí or Subráya Shashṭhí. Thousands of Bráhmaṇas are feasted on this occasion. Bráhmaṇás, bearing the order of Brahmachárí,[14] are in particular request. Lepers and persons sup-

[12] Correspond generally with October and November, April and May, and January and February, respectively.

[13] "A Gazetteer of the Territories under the Government of the East India Company, &c." By Edward Thornton, Esq., London, 1857, page 927.

[14] *Brahmachárí* means a student [in theology]. All twice-born Hindus, *i.e.* the Bráhmaṇás, the Kshatriyás, and the Vais'yás are enjoined to spend the first quarter of their life in this state. For particulars, see Manu, chapter II., verses 175

posed to be under the influence of evil spirits, are brought to this place for cure, which popular belief ascribes to the miraculous power of the deity. People who have no issue, make a vow to this shrine, which consists in fasting on the day of the festival and rolling in the remains of food left on the dishes spread before the Bráhmaṇás at the feast. A person, supposed to be possessed with the spirit of Subrahmaṇya, dances at the temple, and is believed to have the power of telling the past, the present, and the future. On the day of the festival above-mentioned, one of the officiating priests puts a leather bag on one of his hands, and, with the hand thus protected, takes out three handfuls of earth from one of the holes in that locality supposed to be inhabited by serpents. This is called *Múlamrittiká* (the original earth), and is distributed to the assembled worshippers, as a mark of the deity's favours.[15]

A circumstance showing the practical influence of serpent-worship in worldly affairs here deserves a prominent mention. A class of Bráh-

—210. The English reader may consult with advantage, Elphinstone's India, page 13, [Third edition,] and Sir W. Jones' Works, vol. 7, pp. 139—144. [Edition in thirteen volumes : 1807.]

[15] In a work published this year at Madras entitled the "Genealogy of the South-Indian Gods, by Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg, First Protestant Missionary in India. Freely translated into English, from the German, by the Rev. G. J. Metzger," pp. 63—69, is a description of the deity Subrahmaṇya and his two wives. No account of serpent-worship is here to be found, although, I am informed, it prevails as a matter of fact at all shrines dedicated to this god. सुब्बर [*Subbara*] and मणी [Maṇí] would form a combination, signifying the chief or jewel of serpents. Subba-ráya or Subba-rájá means the sovereign serpent. These significations, together with the fact of serpent-worship being now in vogue at these shrines, appear to support the connection of Subrahmaṇya with serpent-worship. Stories are told of a serpent actually appearing on the occasion of the annual dinners. Although Subrahmaṇya is described as Kártikeya, or the god of war, his actual connection with serpent-worship can be seen in all his temples, of which, besides the one alluded to in the text, there are two others in South Canara, one at Viṭṭhala and another at Munjes'vara.

In the district of North Canara, in the Táluká of Cumptá, is a placed called *Nága Tírtha*. There is a small well-built tank, around which are small artificial caves containing thousands of serpent images.

At Nágapattaṇa in the district of Tánjore, there is a celebrated temple of Náganátha. Inside the temple near the idol of Náganátha, there is a white-ant hill to which large offerings are made in honour of the serpent-god.

maṇás called Haigé, [16] in Canara, have, amongst their ranks, persons who arrogate to themselves the title of Nágapátrí,[17] or the proper habitat of the Nága deity. They are supposed to become possessed of the spirit of the Nágadeva, and, in that state, are thought to be capable of foretelling future events. People invite them to their homes, and have a feast in their honour, called the Nágamaṇḍala or an assembly of the Nágás. The least expense for such a feast amounts to from three to five thousand rupees. Formerly, the Nágapátrís were in great repute. Disputes were referred to them for settlement, and their word was generally the law. An invitation from one of the Nágapátrís to a litigant was almost instantly obeyed. One of the first things a party had to do under the circumstances, was to give a feast to the Nágamaṇḍala and spend thousands of rupees. These things began in time to be perceived by the people, and the power and influence of these priests has, I understand, considerably declined.

In the jungle in the neighbourhood of the shrine of Subrahmaṇya abovementioned, grows a species of cane, called after the presiding deity, *Nágaveta* or Nága-cane. [18] A walking stick of this cane is reckoned a sufficient protection against the poison of serpents.

The above account has had reference to the Maráṭhá and Canarese districts. In the province of Gujarátha also, the Nágapanchamí festival is observed by all classes of Hindus, high and low. The serpents are drawn with black ink, either on the walls or doors of houses. The process of worship is similar to what obtains in the other provinces, except that cowdung is first offered here before incense, flowers, &c., and at the conclusion green grass and butter are offered with the following prayer :—"Please to receive these offerings and seek your abode in the fresh and green forests."

Cups full of milk are placed in different corners of the house as offerings to living serpents, and a sight of one on this day is considered a very auspicious occurrence.

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[16] See "The Physical History of Mankind," by J. C. Prichard, M.D., Vol. IV., p. 162.

[17] Dr. Buchanan, in his work entitled "Journey from Madras through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar," mentions a sect named *Nágarátras*, who appear to belong to the Vaishnava and S'aiva creeds, some following the tenets of the Lingáyatas: see Vol. I., pp. 321, 322, 351, 352.

[18] *Calamus rudentum* : see "Graham's Catalogue of Plants," p. 225.

The influence of the Jains being predominant in this province, all living creatures receive greater consideration than elsewhere. The serpent gets his share along with the rest, his poisonous qualities making no difference against him in this respect. Ordinarily, a Gujaráthí Hindu will not hurt a serpent, even of the most venomous class. He will employ people to catch him alive, put him into a pot, and see him safely conveyed into some jungle. I append below the substance of one of the serpent tales prevalent in Gujarátha, as illustrative of the popular ideas regarding serpent-worship in that country. My friend who favoured me with the story says that it is one out of a large number repeated by the women of Gujarátha on the Nágapanchamí day :—

"Once upon a time there lived a Bráhmaṇa, who, though possessed of much learning, was so poor as hardly to be able to maintain himself and his family. He had a wife who was much devoted to him. Finding no means of livelihood at the place where they resided, she urged upon him the propriety of his going out to some distant place to seek the means of subsistence. He consented to the plan and set out. The wife having no other provisions to furnish for his journey, filled a vessel with water sweetened with sugar and gave it to him. The Bráhmaṇa proceeded about four or five *kosa* (about eight or ten miles), and reached a forest, where, under the shade of a tall, umbrageous Banyan-tree, he stopped for rest and slept soundly. It was the height of the summer season, when the heat around was unbearable. While the Bráhmaṇa was fast asleep, there issued forth from the hollow of the tree, the *Takshaka Nága*, who drank the sweet water from the vessel lying by the Bráhmaṇa's side, and after emptying it of its contents, entered it and rested there. Meanwhile, the Bráhmaṇa awoke, and on looking into the vessel found it to contain a serpent. He closed the mouth of the vessel by means of a piece of cloth and thought of returning home with the vessel in hand. 'I shall make a present of this,' says he, 'to my wife, who is always troubling me with entreaties to go abroad to earn money. This will soon put an end to our existence, and will relieve us of the troubles and vexations of this life.' On his return home, his children thinking that he had brought some sweetmeats in the vessel, naturally inquired what it contained. 'The contents of the vessel,' said he, 'will be distributed by your mother.' So saying, he went out. His wife, who had gone on some household business, having returned home, the children told her the news of their father's return and showed her the vessel brought by him. On opening the vessel,

the mother found it to contain a necklace of diamonds, at which she felt exceedingly delighted. She set about to prepare a good dinner for her husband; borrowed grain from a neighbour, and prepared the food. She sent for her husband who had gone out. The husband returned with great hesitation and reluctance. He was surprised to find the contents of the vessel transformed into precious stones. They all dined together. In the evening the wife went to effect the sale of the necklace. She offered it to the chief banker of her city, who paid her a very handsome sum of money. The banker put the necklace into his box. Soon after, it so happened that the rájáh of the place, who had a wedding ceremony at his palace, wanted a diamond to complete a necklace. The banker (or the *Nagara S'eṭa*, as he was called) offered to supply the rájáh's demand. He went home to take out the necklace with a view to show it to the rájá. On opening the box, however, he found to his extreme surprise, instead of a necklace, the face of a living male child with his thumb in his mouth. The banker, who was childless, was exceedingly glad to find his wishes gratified. The king, who heard the story with astonishment was, however, glad to see the *Nagara S'eṭa* blessed with a son. The child soon grew older. At sixteen, he was married, and his wife came to live with him. She had maiden companions in the persons of the daughters of the Takshaka-Nága. On one occasion, they asked her to inquire of her husband to what race he belonged. Accordingly, when they met together, the wife asked her husband to tell her to what race he belonged. 'I will not speak with you until you answer my query,' said she to her husband. The banker's son, keeping this in mind, resolved to go on a pilgrimage to Benares. He obtained leave from his father and set out. Proceeding on their journey, they came by a large forest containing a fine well. Here, he told his wife that he would answer her question. So saying, he descended into the well by means of a flight of steps, and reached the water. Here he transformed himself into a serpent, showing his hood, &c., and disappeared. The wife, who was now left alone in the desert, began to bewail her fate. Her loud lamentations drew towards her, after several days, a shepherd, who used to graze his flocks in the neighbourhood. The shepherd came to her and asked her why she was crying, and how she was left alone. She gave him all the particulars. The shepherd in return advised her to observe the *Vrata of the Nágapanchamí*, and to fill, in the month of *Bysákha* (or vais'ákha), [19] four *Kuṇḍás*,

[19] Corresponds generally with April and May.

or pools, with milk, sandal-wood, flowers, and unguents. Having done this, she should go up a tree and sit there. If she did this, the deity presiding over the serpents will arrive there, and will drink the milk from the milk-pool. He will then roll himself into the next pool, containing *Chandana* (rubbed sandalwood), proceed to the next, and rub his body with flowers, and partake of the unguents in the fourth pool. At last, he will bless the person who had prepared all this. At this stage, said the sheperd, 'you should alight from the tree and ask a blessing.' Accordingly, she acted up to the advice of the shepherd. When asking for a blessing, she said, 'your son has left me a widow. Deign, therefore, to relieve me of this state of misery by calling him back from the place to which he has gone.' The lord of the serpents was pleased to grant her prayer. He called her husband back from the *Pátála* or the lower regions of the earth, and asked him to live with her, as her husband. They afterwards lived happily together, and thus concludes the legend, by inculcating the propitiation of the Nága Devatá, or the serpent-deity."

Having thus briefly described the Nágapanchamí, I now submit a few observations on the Nágás and the Sarpás, and serpent-worship generally. I must here state that there are other festivals, such as the Anantachaturdas'í, connected with serpent-worship; but they are neither so general nor so popular as this. There are likewise serpent-sacrifices which will have to be carefully investigated and described. These, however, will require one or more papers to themselves, and cannot be dismissed summarily on this occasion. It is difficult to distinguish at this day between the *Nágás* and the *Sarpás*. The two words, in their religious acceptation, are now practically treated as equivalent. Sarpa is the more comprehensive term, and means any thing that moves.[20] Nágás are treated as a species of superior Sarpás, and Nága now specially means the most venomous serpent—the *Cobra de Capello*.

Amarasinha, the most approved Sanskrit lexicographer of the post-Vedic period, in describing the *Pátála* or the nether regions, says that they are the *Nága loka*, or the country of the Nágás. Afterwards the

[20] Muir's Sanskrit Texts, Part II., pp. 234, 255, 256, and 258 :—

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*	*English.*
Sarpa.	Herpeton.	Serpens.	Serpent, reptile.

The declension of the verb *sarptum*, to creep, with the Latin and Greek equivalents, is also given by Dr. Muir.

common names of the class *Nágás*, and *Kúdraveyús* [21] are next given by Amarasinha, who mentions the chief of the Nágás—S'esha or Ananta; immediately after him, comes Vásukí, who is named *Sarpa rája* or "the King of Serpents." In the whole of that section, there is no further mention of Nágás; but the different species of Sarpás are given in detail. [22] In the Máhábhárata, in the section named A'diparva, to which an allusion has been already made (see note [21] below), the Nágás and Sarpás are promiscuously mentioned. The sea is described as their abode, and the names of all the principal *Nágás* and *Sarpás*, which are now in use amongst the Hindus, are detailed without any distinction as to their origin or species.

In the third *Káṇḍa* of the Amarakos'a, Varga III, S'loka 22, the word Nága is applied to an elephant, and by one of the commentators also to *Mátaṅga*, a race of mountaineers. [23] [In ordinary language, a Mátaṅga signifies a Mánga.] This rendering is further confirmed by another Lexicon, the Medinikos'a, [24] which is distinct

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[21] So named after their mother Kadrú, one of the wives of the sage Kas'yapa. See the Mahábhárata, A'diparva, Adhyáya XVI. [Edition printed at Gaṇpat Krishṇaji's Press, Bombay: S'ak year 1784, A. C. 1862-63, leaf 44, page 2, and leaf 45, p. 1.] The story of the *Nágás* is continued up to the end of chapter XXXIX. at page 1, leaf 61. How the *Nágás* were cursed by their mother, how one of them—the Takshaka—bit the King Parikshita, how his (Parikshita's) son Janamejaya persecuted them, and burnt all the Nágás and Sarpás at a huge sacrifice called Sarpasatra, and how they were finally saved by A'stika, a nephew of Vásukí; all this is related in detail in the same Parva from Chapter XL.

[22] Amarakos'a, Káṇda I, Varga 8; see S'lokas 1 and 4 for the Nágás, and the Sarpa-rája or serpent-king.

The following is an enumeration of the different species of Sarpás in the same *Varga*:—

"सर्पः पृदाकुर्भुजगो भुजंगोहिर्भुजंगमः ॥ ६ ॥ आशीविषो विषधरश्चक्री व्यालः सरीसृपः ॥ कुंडली गूढपाच्चक्षुःश्रवाः काकोदरः फणी ॥ ७ ॥ दर्वीकरो दीर्घपृष्ठो दंदशूको बिलेशयः ॥ उरगः पन्नगो भोगी जिह्मगः पवनाशनः ॥ ८ ॥"

See also Colebrooke's Amarakos'a, 1st Edition, pp. 50, 51.

[23] Vide Colebrooke's Amarakos'a, p. 295.

[24] मेदिनी कोशे, गान्तवर्गे;—"नागः पन्नग मातङ्ग क्रूराचारिषु तोयदे।"

Translation:—Nága (means) 1, *Pannaga*, serpent; 2, *Mátanga*, a race of mountaineers; 3, *Krúráchári*, a wicked person; and 4, *Toyada*, a water-giving cloud.

on the point. Whether this signification has any bearing on the question now under consideration, remains to be seen. As I have previously observed, in religious practice, the Hindus make no distinction between the *Nágás* and the *Sarpás* at present. The actual observance of the Nágapanchamí festival shows no difference between the two classes mentioned by the lexicographer.

It is customary amongst the Hindus on this side to sing some sacred songs in the morning, called *Bhupális,* and offer some prayers in the evening called *stotras*. These are in addition to the *Sandhyá* and other Vedic observances, and are mostly of Puráṇika origin. Amongst the latter is a prayer to the *Nágás,* which is as follows :—

नागस्तोत्रं.

अनंतं वासुकिं शेषं पद्मनाभं च कंबलं ॥ शंखपालं धृतराष्ट्रं तक्षकं कालियं तथा ॥ इत्येवं नवनामानि नागानां च महात्मनां ॥ सायंकाले पठेन्नित्यं प्रातःकाले विशेषतः ॥ तस्य विषभयं नास्ति सर्वत्र विजयी भवेत्॥ इति श्रीपातालखंडे नवनागस्तोत्रं संपूर्णम् ॥

Translation.—" Ananta ; Vásukí ; S'esha ; Padmanábha ; and Kambala ; S'ankhapála ; Dhṛitaráshtra ; Takshaka, and Kálíya ; these, the nine names of the great Nágás, whosoever daily repeats in the evening, (or) especially in the morning, to him there is no fear from poison. Such is the end of the prayer to the nine Nágás in the Pátálakhaṇḍa."

This is repeated every day in the evening before meals. And there is a mixture of the Nágás and Sarpás herein. After meals, and before going to bed, the name of an ancient sage, *A'stika,* is repeated three times, as a protective against fear from serpents whom the sage, A'stika, saved from destruction at the hands of *Janamejaya* at the beginning of the present (or *Kali*) age. [25] A *mantra* (or sacred verse) founded upon

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[25] The following passage from the Mahábhárata, A'diparva, Adhyáya 58, S'lokás 19—29, explains the origin of this practice :—

एतच्छ्रुत्वा प्रीयमाणाः समेता ये तत्रासन्पन्नगा वीतमोहाः ॥ आस्तीके वै प्रीतिमंतो बभूवुरूचुश्चैनं वरमिष्टं वृणीष्व ॥ १९ ॥ भूयोभूयः सर्वशस्ते ब्रुवंस्तं किं ते प्रियं करवामाद्य विद्वन् ॥ प्रीता वयं मोक्षिताश्चैव सर्वे कामं किं ते करवामाद्य वत्स ॥ २० ॥ आस्तीक उवाच ॥ सायं प्रातर्ये प्रसन्नात्मरूपा लोके विप्रा मानवा ये परे ऽपि ॥ धर्मा-

this story is said to be used for charming away serpent poison. But this alleged *mantra* is nowhere found in a work of repute to my knowledge. The story of *A'stika* is suggestive of curious reflections. *A'stika* signifies a believer in the existence and providence of God, and his

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ख्यानं ये पठेयुर्ममेदं तेषां युष्मन्नैव किंचिद्भयं स्यात् ॥ २१ ॥ तैश्चाप्युक्तो भागिनेयः प्रसन्नैरेतत्सत्यं काममेवं वरं ते ॥ प्रीत्या युक्ताः कामितं सर्वशस्ते कर्त्तारः स्म प्रवणा भागिनेय ॥ २२ ॥ असितं चार्तिमंतं च सुनीथं चापि यः स्मरेत् ॥ दिवा वा यदि वा रात्रौ नास्य सर्पभयं भवेत् ॥ २३ ॥ यो जरत्कारुणा जातो जरत्कारौ महायशाः ॥ आस्तीकः सर्पसत्रे वः पन्नगान्योभ्यरक्षत ॥ तं स्मरंतं महाभागा न मां हिंसितुमर्हथ ॥ २४ ॥ सर्पापसर्प भद्रं ते गच्छ सर्प महाविष ॥ जनमेजयस्य यज्ञांते आस्तीकवचनं स्मर ॥ २५ ॥ आस्तीकस्य वचः श्रुत्वा यः सर्पो न निवर्त्तते ॥ शतधा भिद्यते मूर्ध्नि शिंशवृक्षफलं यथा ॥ २६ ॥ सौतिरुवाच ॥ सएवमुक्तस्तु तदा द्विजेंद्रः समागतैस्तैर्भुजगेंद्रमुख्यैः ॥ संप्राप्य प्रीतिं विपुलां महात्मा ततो मनोगमनायाथ दध्रे ॥ २७ ॥ मोक्षयित्वा तु भुजगान्सर्पसत्रात् द्विजोत्तमः ॥ जगाम काले धर्मात्मा दिष्टांतं पुत्रपौत्रवान् ॥ २८ ॥ इत्याख्यानं मयास्तीकं यथावत्तव कीर्तितं ॥ यत्कीर्तयित्वा सर्पेभ्यो न भयं विद्यते क्वचित् ॥ २९ ॥"

Translation :—On hearing this [*i. e.* the foregoing narrative] all the serpents who had there assembled becoming disenchanted [*i. e.* enlightened], were much gratified. [They became] pleased with A'stika, [and] desired him to ask of them any boon he wished for (19). Again and again they said, O, thou learned, what can we do that will be agreeable to thee? All of us being saved [by you], are delighted. Oh son, what endearing thing can we give you to-day? (20). *A'stika* said: There should be no fear from you to the *Viprás* [*i. e. Bráhmanás, Kshatriyás* and *Vais'yás*] or any other persons in this world who are happy in the contemplation of their own inner selves, and who will recite in the evening and in the morning this my sacred narrative (21). The delighted serpents spoke [in return] to their nephew [*bhágineya, i. e.* the son of one's sister], thus: Oh thou, our nephew, we will with humility and with pleasure become by all means the performers of whatever you may wish for (22). He shall have no fear from serpents who shall either by day or by night remember *Asitam, A'rtimantam*, and *Sunitham*. [These are the names of three celebrated Nágás] (23). You great serpents! it would ill become you to kill me who am remembering him, that most famous *A'stika*, who was born to *Jaratkaru* by his wife [also named] *Jaratkaru*, and who saved you, all the serpents, at the serpent-sacrifice (24). Oh thou most venomous of the serpents, blessings be to thee; go back and remember the words of A'stika [uttered] at the close of the sacrifice by *Janamejaya* (25). That serpent, who, after hearing tho saying of *A'stika* does not return, shall have his head

intercession to save serpents who had forfeited their lives and brought about their fall through their own deceitful conduct, is a very remarkable event. [26]

The *serpent,* either as a Sarpa or a Nága thus enters intimately into the economy of a Hindu's daily life. He is treated as a *Dvija* [27] or a twice-born, and sometimes gets the honours of a funeral, just like a human being. It is well-known, how anxious a Hindu is to have a male heir to perform his funeral obsequies and inherit his name and fortune. To beget a son is reckoned a religious duty, and a Bráhmaṇa

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shattered into a hundred parts like the fruit of *Shinvsha* [sisu tree (?)] (26). *Sauti* said: When the greatest among the chiefs of the assembled serpents spoke [as above] to the great *Bráhmaṇa,* he the magnanimous, [A'stíka] was highly gratified and wished to go away [to his home] (27). Having thus saved the serpents from the serpent-sacrifice, the excellent and religious *Bráhmaṇa,* after begetting a family of sons and grandsons, went to heaven at the proper time (28).

[26] The Mahábhárata tells us that *Takshaka,* one of the chief serpents, bit King Paríkshit, the grandson of Arjuna, the celebrated Páṇḍava warrior who figures in the great war. Janamejaya, the son of Paríkshit afterwards came to learn of the treacherous conduct of Takshaka toward his father, and on the advice of a Bráhmaṇa sage determined to perfom a great serpent-sacrifice named Sarpa-satra. Thousands of *sarpás (including Nágás)* were thus destroyed; and the whole race of serpents would, it is said, have been annihilated, if the sage A'stika had not interfered. A'stika was the son of the sage Jaratkáru, by his wife Jaratkáru a sister of the serpent Vásuki. He was solicited by his relatives to present himself before King Janamejaya, and prevail upon him to stop the serpent-sacrifice. A'stika did so; and the king was pleased to grant his request.

It is related that the death of Paríkshit by the bite of a serpent had been foretold; and in order to secure his deliverance from the troubles of this world, and to obtain final beatitude in the next, that king heard from the mouth of the sage *S'uka,* the Bhágavata-Puráṇa, which is consequently read by the Hindus to this day.

[27] Why a *serpent* should be treated as a twice-born man, and should receive the honours of a funeral, it is hard to say. But it is to be observed that the Sanskrit word *dvija,* which means twice-born, is applicable to the three "regenerated classes" of Hindus (*i.e.* the Bráhmaṇas, the Kshatriyás and the Vais'yás), as well as to the teeth, and all oviparous animals :—

" दन्तविप्राण्डजा द्विजाः "

It is curious how mere words will often help to create or to support such observances.

is enjoined to discharge it, and thus free himself from the debt he owes to his progenitors.[28] When the natural means fail or threaten to fail, the supernatural powers are invoked. A solemn sacrifice, named Náráyaṇa-Nágabali [or the sacrifice to the Náráyaṇa-Nága] is performed in order to secure progeny. People generally repair to some *tírtha* or sacred place, and the serpent-sacrifice is there made to propitiate the deities. It will occupy a paper by itself to describe the whole of this rite. The fact, however, that it is performed is sufficient for my present purpose, as showing the ramifications of serpent-worship in this country. This rite is performed in honour of the *sarpadevatás*, not the snakes we see, but to some spiritual beings of a higher order in whose existence the Hindus are taught to believe. It seems that this sacrifice is sanctioned by Vedic ritual, and this leads me to a short examination of Serpent-worship, and the *Sarpás* and *Nágás*, as mentioned in the Vedas. As far as my inquiries have yet extended, the earth is addressed as the Sárpa-rájní (*i.e.* the queen of the serpents or the queen of all that moves). The prayer occurs in the 8th Ashṭaka of the Rig-veda, and has more relation with the sun than with the serpents.[29]

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[28] *Taittiríya*, or the Black *Yajurveda*, Ashṭaka VI; Prapáṭhaka III., Anuváka 10 :—

" जायमानो वै ब्राह्मणस्त्रिभिर्ऋणवा जायते ब्रह्मचर्येणर्षिभ्य : यज्ञेन देवेभ्य : प्रजया पितृभ्य : । एष वा अनृणो य : पुत्री "

Translation :—" A Bráhmaṇa, immediately on being born, is produced a debtor in three obligations: to the holy saints, for the practice of religious duties; to the gods for the performance of sacrifice; to his forefathers, for off-spring. Or, he is absolved from debt, who has a son." Also, see the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa, Book VII., Chapter III., 11; pp. 460—462 of Dr. Haug's Translation.

[29] Rig-veda Sanhitá, 8th Ashṭaka, 8th Adhyáya, Hymn 38: [Metre, Gáyatrí; The Rishi of this hymn is Sárpa-rájní, and the same or the sun is its deity].

" आयंगौ : पृश्निरक्रमीदसदन्मातरं पुर : ।। पितरं च प्रयन्त्स्व : ।। अंतश्चरति रोचना अस्य प्राणादपानती ।। व्यख्यन्महिषो दिवं ।। त्रिंशद्धामविराजति वाक्पतंगाय धीयते ।। प्रतिवस्तोरहद्युभि : ।।

Translation :—[This] shining, perpetual traveller arrived [at the rising mountain]; afterwards reaches the mother earth; and occupies the firmament in his passage to the heavens.

His [sun's] light (going from the rising to the setting mountain) moves be-

The Aitareya Bráhmaṇa, which follows, explains and amplifies upon the Rig-veda, of which it is a complement, thus speaks with reference to this Sarpa-mantra:—

ते ततः सर्पंति ते सदः संप्रपद्यंते यथायथमन्य ऋत्विजो व्युत्सर्पंति संसर्पंत्युद्गातारस्ते सर्पराज्ञ्या ऋक्षु स्तुवत; इयं वै सर्पराज्ञीयं हि सर्पतो राज्ञीयं वा अलोमिकेवाग्र आसीत्सैतं मंत्रमपश्यद् आयंगौः पृश्निरक्रमीदिति तामयं पृश्निर्वर्ण आविशं नानारूपो यं यं काममकामयत यदिदं किं चौषधयो वनस्पतयः सर्वाणि रूपाणि पृश्निरेनं वर्ण आविशति नानारूपो ऽ यं यं कामं कामयते य एवं वेद." [30]

Translation.—(The chanting and repeating of the serpent Mantra.) "All the other priests except the Udgátris go from thence (the Agnidhriya fire) and proceed to the *sadas* (a place in the south-east of the Uttaravedí), all walking each in his own way, in this or that direction. But the Udgátris walk together. They chant the verses (seen) by the Queen of the Serpents (*Sárpa-rájní*); because the earth (*iyam*) is the Queen of the Serpents, for she is the queen of all that moves (*sarpat*). She was in the beginning without hair, as it were (without trees, bushes, &c.) She then saw this mantra, which commences, *A'yam gáuh pris' nir ákramit* (10, 189.) In consequence of it, she obtained a motley appearance, she became variegated, being able to produce any form she might like, such as herbs, trees, and all other forms. Therefore the man who has such a knowledge obtains the faculty of assuming any form he might choose." [31]

The Taittiriya, or the Black Yajur-Veda contains more of prayers to Serpents and Serpent-worship than the Rig-veda. In the Sanhitá of this Veda are prayers to the *sarpás*, who are addressed, as inhabit-

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tween [the earth and the firmament]. The great [sun endowed with this light] looks at the heavens.

The thirty component parts of the day [called *Muhúrtás*] are made more beauteous by the rays of the sun. [Therefore] to that sun, [prayers] are uttered.

This translation is founded upon the Commentary of *Bháskararáya*, in the prayer entitled *Saura-samánarthaka stava.*

[30] Panchiká V., Khaṇḍa 23.

[31] Translation by Dr. Martin Haug, pp. 358, 359.

ing the heavens; the skies; the rays of the sun; the waters; the vegetables, &c.[32]

In the Bráhmaṇás of this portion of the Yajur-veda, the same *sarpás* are again invoked, and sweet sacrifices are offered for their acceptance.[33] Further on, a battle between the gods and the giants is alluded to. On this occasion, the *devás* or gods present the *Sarpás* and the *Sarpa-devatás* with curds and barley flour, and seek their help to subjugate their cousins, the giants.[34]

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[32] See Ashṭaka IV., Adhyáya II, Anuváka 8;—

नमो अस्तु सर्पेभ्यो ये के च पृथिवीमनु ॥ ये अंतरिक्षे ये दिवि तेभ्यः सर्पेभ्यो नमः ॥ ये दो रोचने दिवो ये वा सूर्यस्य रश्मिषु ॥ येषामप्सु सदः कृतं तेभ्यः सर्पेभ्यो नमः ॥ या इषवो यातुधानानां ये वा वनस्पतीं १ रनु ॥ ये वावटेषु शेरते तेभ्यः सर्पेभ्यो नमः ॥ MS.

Translation:—Salutation be to the *Sarpás* [Serpents]; those who follow [or inhabit] the earth; who [inhabit] the firmament, who [inhabit] the heavens; to those serpents, be salutation [given].

To those in the regions of Svarga; or to those in the rays of the sun; [to those] who have made the water their abode; to those serpents salutation be.

[To those] who are the arrows of the *Yátudhánás* [a species of Rákshasás or celestial demons]; who inhabit the trees; or who sleep in hollows; salutation be to them.

[33] See Bibliotheca Indica [Calcutta,] the Taittiri'ya Bráhmaṇa of the Black Yajur-veda: Vol. III, pp. 2, 3, 299:—

इद ं सर्पेभ्यो हविरस्तु जुष्टं ॥ आश्रेषा येषामनुयंति चेतः ॥ ये अंतरिक्षं पृथिवीं क्षियंति ॥ ते नः सर्पासो हवमागमिष्ठाः ॥ ये रोचने सूर्यस्यापि सर्पाः ॥ ये दिवं देवीमनुसंचरंति ॥ येषामाश्रेषा अनुयंति कामं ॥ तेभ्यः सर्पेभ्यो मधुमज्जुहोमि ॥

Translation:—May this sacrificial offering be liked by the Sarpás. The goddesses [presiding over the lunar mansion] A's'lesha conduct themselves in accordance with the wishes of those *Sarpás*. May those sarpás [*i.e.* serpent-mouthed gods] who live on the earth and in the firmament, be coming [frequently] at our sacrifice. Those who live in the sun's spheres; who dwell in the bright heavens; those whose will is followed by the goddesses presiding over the lunar mansion A's'lesha; to these *sarpás*, I offer sweet sacrificial food.

[34] See Bibliotheca 'Indica [Calcutta], the Taittiríya Bráhmaṇa of the Black Yajurv-eda: Vol. III., pp. 12, and 327:—

देवासुराः संयत्ता आसन् ॥ ते देवाः सर्पेभ्य आश्रेषाभ्य आज्ये करंभं निरवपन् ॥ ताने-ताभिरेवदेवताभिरुपानयन् ॥ एताभिर्हवै देवताभिर्द्विषंतं भ्रातृव्यमुपनयति ॥ य एतेन ह-

After the Vedás, come the *Sutrás* (or Aphorisms), and the *Grihya-Sutra* of A's'valáyana, which is now followed as a work of authority, enjoins sacrifices and offerings to *Sarpa-devás* or serpent gods. *Sarpa-bali* or serpent sacrifice is distinctly laid down, and the ritual described in detail.[35] It is to be observed that A's'valáyana mentions the Nágás also. It is well-known that all the twice-born Hindus (*i. e.* the Bráhmaṇás, the Kshatriyás and the Vais'yás) perform every morning the Bráhmayajnya. This means, properly speaking, propitiating the Almighty by reciting the Vedás and contemplating them. At present, however, the Brahmayajnya is a ceremony which consists of repeating the initial sentences of all the Vedás and *Vedángás* with a few sacred verses in the beginning and at the end: after this is done, water is offered to the gods, the ṛishis (*i. e.* the sages), and others. The enumeration of the gods begins with the heavenly spirits, the Brahmá, the Vedás, the *devás*, and the spirits of other orders of spiritual existences. Amongst others, we find the *Nágás*,[36] who are followed by "the birds, the cows," &c. Sarpás do not appear on this occasion, though they are mentioned in other places in the same work. It seems to me, therefore, that A's'valáyana treats the two, as similar, if not the same spiritual essences.

विषा यजंते ॥ य उचैनदेवं वेद ॥ सोऽत्रजुहोति ॥ सर्पेभ्यः स्वाहाश्रेषाभ्यः स्वाहा ॥ दंदशूकेभ्य : स्वाहेति ॥

Translation :—The gods and giants become ready for battle. The gods offered to the *Sarpás* [serpents] and the constellation of A's'leshá, barley flour mixed with curds and [steeped] in clarified butter, and by their means, they [*i.e.* the gods] brought their enemies [under subjection].

Therefore by means of these deities, the sacrificer subjugates his inimical kinsmen. He who sacrifices with this sacrificial offering, [and] he who knows this deity; he sacrifices in this world [with the following verses] :— May this be given to the *Sarpás*; may this be given to the constellation A's'leshá; may this be given to the *dandas'ukas* [*i.e.* a very venomous species of serpents].

[35] See the commentary on the Grihya-Sutra by Gaṇes'a, particularly the remarks following the text " सर्पदेवजनेभ्य : स्वाहा" MS.

[36] " नागास्तृप्यंतु" *i.e.* may the *Nágás* become pleased: See A's'valáyana's Grihya-Sutra, Chapter III., MS.

ing the heavens; the skies; the rays of the sun; the waters; the vegetables, &c.[32]

In the Bráhmaṇás of this portion of the Yajur-veda, the same *sarpás* are again invoked, and sweet sacrifices are offered for their acceptance.[33] Further on, a battle between the gods and the giants is alluded to. On this occasion, the *devás* or gods present the *Sarpás* and the *Sarpa-devatás* with curds and barley flour, and seek their help to subjugate their cousins, the giants.[34]

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[33] See Bibliotheca Indica [Calcutta,] the Taittiri'ya Bráhmaṇa of the Black Yajur-veda: Vol. III, pp. 2, 3, 299:—

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विशा यजंते ॥ य उ चैनदेवं वेद ॥ सोऽन्नंजुहोति ॥ सर्पेभ्यः स्वाहाश्रेषाभ्यः स्वाहा ॥ दंदशूकेभ्य : स्वाहेति ॥

Translation :—The gods and giants become ready for battle. The gods offered to the *Sarpás* [serpents] and the constellation of A's'leshá, barley flour mixed with curds and [steeped] in clarified butter, and by their means, they [*i.e.* the gods] brought their enemies [under subjection].

Therefore by means of these deities, the sacrificer subjugates his inimical kinsmen. He who sacrifices with this sacrificial offering, [and] he who knows this deity; he sacrifices in this world [with the following verses] :— May this be given to the *Sarpás*; may this be given to the constellation A's'leshá; may this be given to the *dandas'ukas* [*i.e.* a very venomous species of serpents].

[35] See the commentary on the Grihya-Sutra by Gaṇes'a, particularly the remarks following the text "सर्पदेवजनेभ्य : स्वाहा" MS.

[36] "नागास्तृप्यंतु" *i.e.* may the *Nágás* become pleased: See A's'valáyana's Grihya-Sutra, Chapter III., MS.

After the Vedás,[37] comes Manu. In his account of the creation, he mentions both the Nágás and the *Sarpás*, which Sir W. Jones translates into "huge serpents and snakes of smaller size."[38]

The Máhábhárata, which is at least equal to Manu in authority, appears to make no material distinction between the two classes. In the *Bhagavatgítá* (one of the episodes in the Máhábhárata) where the divine essence in the different classes of beings in the Universe is described, Krishṇa tells Arjuna that Vásukí and Ananta represent him amongst the Sarpás and the Nágás respectively.[39] No further light is thrown on the subject elsewhere in this poem; and the Nágás and Sarpás are henceforth apparently treated as a similar class of beings. The Máhábhárata gives instances of alliances between the beautiful daughters of the Nágás and men.[40] The marriage of Arjuna with *Ulúpi* took place at Maṇipura, where Ulúpi's son, king Babhruváhana reigned at the time of the horse-sacrifice by his uncle Yudhishṭhira. Whether this Maṇipura is identical with the town of that name in Assam, I am not yet prepared to say. Besides these marriages, we have the famous story of *Madálasá*, a Nága princess of incomparable beauty, and her union with king Kuĺvalás'va, celebrated in the Márkaṇḍeya

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[37] Manu Smriti, Adhyáya I., S'loka 37.

[38] Sir W. Jones' Works, Vol. VIII., p. 97.

[39] See the following from the *Bhagavatgítá*, Adhyáya X., verses 28 and 29 :—

आयुधानामहं वज्रं धेनूनामस्मि कामधुक् ॥ प्रजनश्चास्मि कंदर्पः सर्पाणामस्मि वासुकिः ॥ २८ ॥

"Amongst the *Sarpás*, I am Vásuki."

Shankara's Commentary :—

सर्पाणां सर्पभेदानां अस्मि वासुकिः सर्पराजः

अनंतश्चास्मि नागानां वरुणो यादसामहं ॥ पितॄणामर्यमा चास्मि यमः संयमतामहं ॥ २९ ॥

"Of the Nágas, I am Ananta."

Shankara's Commentary :—

नागानां नागविशेषाणां नागराजः

I have translated above, only the parts required for this paper, which are underlined.

[40] See the account of the marriages of Jaratkáru and Jaratkáru in the A'diparva, of Arjuna and Ulúpí in the Sabháparva, and others.

Puráṇa.[41] The *Nágás* and *Sarpás* of the Máhábhárata and the Puráṇas appear as beings endowed with miraculous powers, able to assume any form and go anywhere without let or hindrance. Their country is described to be the nether region.[42] The author of the Súrya-siddhánta places the Nága-Khaṇḍa (*i.e.* the country of the Nágás) in Bharata Varsha,[43] which generally means India. Elsewhere, however, the same author describes the seven infernal regions as the beautiful abodes of the Nágás.[44] Bháskaráchárya in his *Goládhyáya* also describes the Nága-Khaṇḍa as a part of Bharata-Varsha, although he mentions this portion of his treatise as being founded on the Puráṇás.[45] In the Bhágavata Puráṇa, Vásuki and eleven other Nágás are stated as forming the string of the sun's chariot, one serpent being held to be sacred to each month.[46] This makes the serpents to be the rays of the sun.

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[41] Bibliotheca Indica. S'ri Márkaṇḍeya Puráṇa, edited by the Rev. K. M. Banerjea, Adhyáyas 20—44, pp. 131—255.

[42] The Máhábhárata, A'diparva. Also, Amarakos'a, Káṇḍa I., Varga 8th.

[43] Translation by L. Wilkinson, Esq., edited by Paṇḍita Bápu Deva S'ástrí, of Benares, p. 120.

[44] Ibid, p. 79.

[45] Siddhánta-S'iromaṇi, Goládhyáya, Calcutta Edition of 1842, pp. 20 and 21.

[46] The Bhágavata Puráṇa, Skanda XII., Adhyáya XI., verses 32—44 :—

मध्वादिषु द्वादशसु भगवान् कालरूपधृक् ॥
लोकतंत्राय चरति पृथक् द्वादशभिर्गणैः ॥ ३२ ॥
धाता कृतस्थली हेति र्वासुकी रथकृन्मुने ॥
पुलस्त्यस्तुंबुरुरिति मधुमासंनयंत्यमी ॥ ३३ ॥
अर्यमा पुलहोथौजाः प्रहेतिः पुंजिकस्थली ॥
नारदः कच्छनीरश्च नयंत्येते स्म माधवं ॥ ३४ ॥
मित्रोत्रिः पौरुषेयोथ तक्षको मेनका हाहाः ॥
रथस्वन इति ह्येते शुक्रमासं नयंत्यमी ॥ ३५ ॥
वसिष्ठो वरुणो रंभा सहजन्यस्तथा हूहूः ॥
शुक्रश्चित्रस्वनश्चैव शुचिमासं नयंत्यमी ॥ ३६ ॥
इंद्रो विश्वावसुः श्रोता एलापत्रस्तथांगिराः ॥
प्रम्लोचा राक्षसो वर्या नभोमासं नयंत्यमी ॥ ३७ ॥
विवस्वानुग्रसेनश्च व्याघ्र आसारणो भृगुः ॥

Such being the state of the most ancient authorities on this subject, it becomes rather a difficult problem to determine how the original

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अनुम्लोचा शंखपालो नभस्याख्यं नयंत्यमो ॥ ३८ ॥
पूषा धनंजयो वातः सुषेणः सुरुचिस्तथा ॥
घृताची गौतमश्चेति तपोमासं नयंत्यमो ॥ ३९ ॥
ऋतुर्वर्चा भरद्वाजः पर्जन्यः सेनजित्तथा ॥
विश्वऐरावतश्चैव तपस्याख्यं नयंत्यमो ॥ ४० ॥
अथांशुः कश्यपस्तार्क्ष ऋतसेनस्तथोर्वशी ॥
विद्युच्छत्रुर्महाशंखः सहोमासं नयंत्यमो ॥ ४१ ॥
भगः स्फूर्जोऽरिष्टनेमिरूर्णआयुश्च पंचमः ॥
कर्कोटकः पूर्वचित्तिः पुष्यमासं नयंन्यमो ॥ ४२ ॥
त्वष्टा ऋचीकतनयः कंबलश्च तिलोत्तमा ॥
ब्रह्मापेतोऽथ शतजिद्धृतराष्ट्र इषंभराः ॥ ४३ ॥
विष्णुरश्वतरो रंभा सूर्यवर्चाश्च सत्यजित् ॥
विश्वामित्रो मखापेत ऊर्जमासं नयंत्यमी ॥ ४४ ॥

Translation :—The *Bhagaván* [*i. e.* god possessed of the six complete excellences] assuming the form of time goes through the twelve [months] commencing from *Madhu* [Chaitra], accompanied by different *gaṇas* [trains of attendant deities] for the maintenance of the creation. (32)

(1) *Dhátá* (a sun); (2) *Kritasthalí* (a celestial dancing girl); (3) *Heti* (a giant or demon); (4) *Vásuki* (a *Nága*); (5) *Rathakṛit* (a *Yaksha*, or a celestial being); (6) *Pulastya* (a *Rishi*); and (7) *Tumburu* (a celestial songster); guide *Madhu* (*Chaitra*) month [*i. e.* March and April]. (33)

(1) *Aryamá*; (2) *Punjikasthalí*; (3) *Praheti*; (4) *Kachhanira*; (5) *Pulaha*; (6) *Ojas*; and (7) *Nárada* lead the month of *Mádhava* [*i. e.* April and May]. (34.)

(1) *Mitra*; (2) *Menaká*; (3) *Pourusheya*; (4) *Takshaka*; (5) *Rathasvana*; (6) *Rishi*; and (7) *Háhá* lead the month *S'ukra* [*Jyeshtha, i.e.* May and June]. (35.)

(1) *Varuṇa*; (2) *Rambhá*; (3) *Chitrasvana*; (4) *S'ukra*; (5) *Sahajanya*; (6) *Vasishtha*; and (7) *Húhú* lead the month of *S'uchi* [*A'shádha, i. e.* June and July]. (36.)

(1) *Indra*; (2) *Pramlochá*; (3) *Varya*; (4) *Elápatra*; (5) *S'rotá*; (6) *Angirá*; and (7) *Vis'vávasu* lead the month of *Nabha* [*S'rávaṇa, i. e.* July and August]. (37.)

(1) *Vivasván*; (2) *Anumlochá*; (3) *Vyághra*; (4) *S'ankhapála*; (5) *A'sáraṇa*; (6) *Bhṛigu*; and (7) *Ugrasena* lead the month of *Nabhasya* [*Bhádrapada, i. e.* August and September]. (38.)

(1) *Púshá*; (2) *Ghṛitachí*; (3) *Váta*; (4) *Dhananjaya*; (5) *Suruchi*; (6)

spiritual worship of the Sarpa-devatás of the Vedás has now descended into an idolatrous worship of snakes and serpents. It cannot be said that the Vedic rites have been altogether done away with. I should say that over and above the old. rites, new ceremonies and forms of worship have been introduced. So far as the new process of introduction of these additional ceremonies can be traced, it would appear to have begun with or after the Puráṇás. After the destruction of the Kshatriyás by Paras'uráma, the two next *avatárás* described in the Puraṇás are those of Ráma and Kṛishṇa. Now, with each of these is associated an *avatára* of the chief Nága, S'esha, being in one case, Lakshmaṇa,[47] younger brother of Ráma, and in the other, Balaráma,[48]

Gautama, and (7) *Sushena* lead the month of *Tapa* [*Mâgha*, *i.e.* January and February.] (39.)

(1) *Parjanya* ; (2) *Senqjit* ; (3) *Varchá* ; (4) *Airâvata* ; (5) *Ritu* ; (6) *Bharadvâja* ; and (7) *Vis'va*, lead the month of *Tapasya* [*Phâlguna*, *i.e.* February and March]. (40.)

(1) *Ams'u* ; (2) *U'rvas't* ; (3) *Vidyuchhatru* ; (4) *Mahâs'ankha* ; (5) *Târksha* ; (6) *Kas'yapa* ; and (7) *Ritusena* lead the month of *Saha* [*Mârgas'irsha*, *i.e.* November and December]. (41.)

(1) *Bhaga* ; (2) *Pûrvachitti* ; (3) *Sphûrjja* ; (4) *Karkotaka* ; (5) *U'rṇa* ; (6) *A'yu* ; and (7) *Arishtanemi* lead the month of *Pushya* [*Pousha*, *i.e.* December and January]. (42.)

(1) *Tvashtá* ; (2) *Tilottamâ* ; (3) *Brahmâpeta* ; (4) *Kambala* ; (5) *S'atajit* ; (6) *Richîkatanaya* ; and (7) *Dhritarâshtra* lead the month of *Isha* [*A's'vina*, *i.e.* September and October]. (43.)

(1) *Vishṇu* ; (2) *Rambhá* ; (3) *Makhâpeta* ; (4) *Asvatara*,—(5) *Sattyajit* ; (6) *Vis'vâmitra* ; and (7) *Sûryavarchha* lead the month of *U'rja* [*Kârtika* ; *i.e.* October and November]. (44.)

[The seven names in verses 34 to 44 stand for the seven attendants of the classes enumerated in verse 33, and are here written in the order of the deities for which they stand. The narrative assumes the existence of a separate sun for each month, or addresses the sun in each month by a separate name.

The order of the months followed here is different from the ordinary one in use which is the following :—

(1) *Chaitra*, (2) *Vais'ákha*, (3) *Jyeshtha*, (4) *A'shádha*, (5) *S'rávaṇa*, (6) *Bhádrapada*, (7) *A's'vina*, (8) *Kârtika*, (9) *Mârgas'irsha*, (10) *Pausha*, (11) *Mâgha*, and (12) *Phâlguna*.]

[47] Brahmáṇḍa Puráṇa, Adhyátmarámáyaṇa, Bálakáṇḍa, Chapter IV. S'loka 17.

[48] The Bhágavata Puráṇa, Skanda X., Part I., Adhyáya I., verse 24.

the elder brother of Krishna. The episode[49] of the serpent Káliya, which is related in connection with the last *avatára*, has also served to bring serpents into greater prominence as objects of worship by the multitude. The stories connected with the Nágapanchamí festival often refer to the serpent Káliya. It is also to be observed that the daily prayers addressed by the Hindus to Vishnu and S'iva, the second and third persons of the Hindu triad, associate the serpent with these deities in some relation. In the case of Vishnu, he appears as the bed on which that deity rests.[50] (Drawing annexed, showing Vishnu with the S'esha-Nága for his bed.) With S'iva, the serpent is still more intimately connected. The sacred thread of S'iva consists of a serpent, and his head is represented as being encircled with serpents. Although S'iva is described as having five faces and three eyes, there is no temple in India known to have an image of this description. Indeed it is said that S'iva must not be worshipped in any form except that of a *Linga*; but how far this is a Vedic idea is very doubtful. The present image of S'iva consists, as is well known, of the human genital organs with a serpent coiled round one or both of them. Annexed are two diagrams showing the position of the serpent in the daily devotional observances. In one case the Linga is wanting, and, in the other, both. It will require a separate disquisition to determine the place of S'iva in reference to serpent-worship, but, inasmuch as the present form seems to be unknown to the Vedás, and appears to belong to the Puránika or the post-Puránika period; and, further, as it is observed (in the case of the Nágapanchamí and the worship of the Linga generally) both by the followers of the Vedás as well as by those who do not believe in those sacred books, it seems probable that the present form is not altogether Bráhmanical, but partakes of another form of worship observed by those with whom the Vedic Hindus came into contact. It is here that the modern significance of the word *Nága* becomes very useful. *Naga* means a mountain, and *Nága* a person

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[49] Ibid, Chapter XVI.

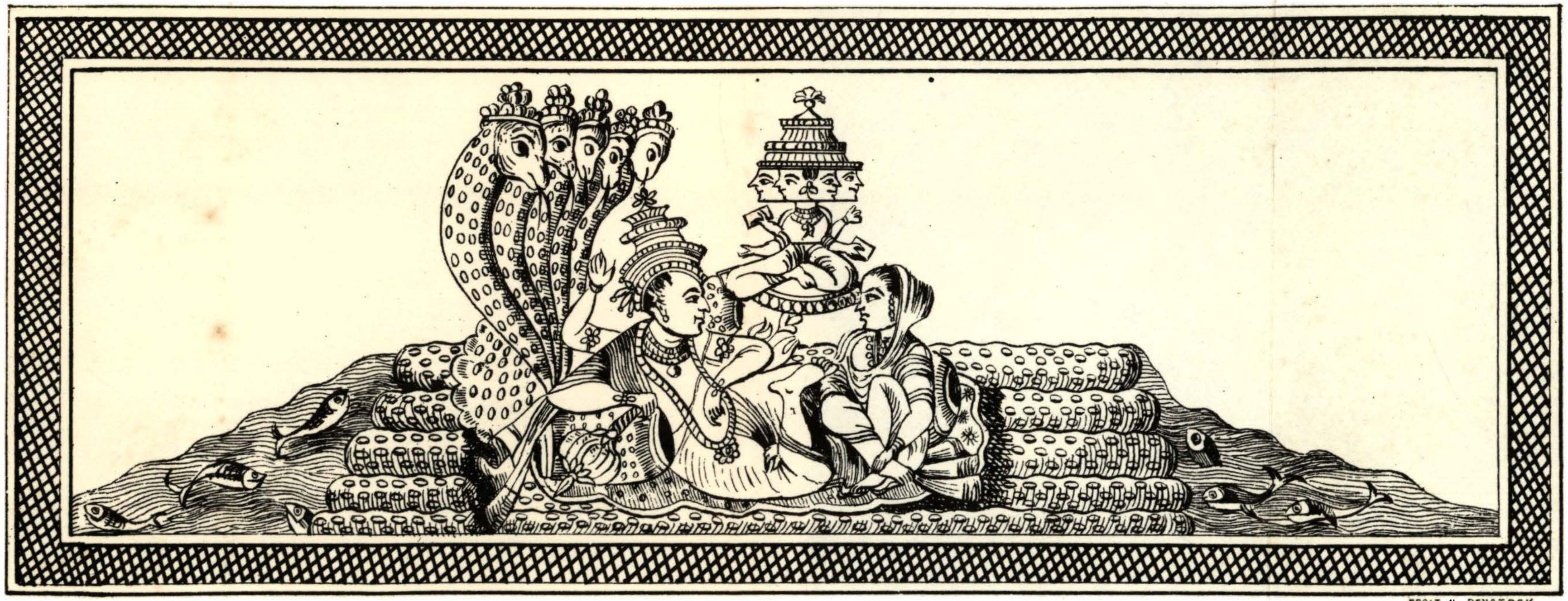
[50] The daily prayer to Vishnu begins thus :—

" शान्ताकारंभुजगशयनं."

Translation :—Of a serene form, having a serpent for his bedding, &c.

The ordinary picture of Vishnu, as *S'esha-sháyi* [*i. e.* resting on the S'esha-serpent,] is in accordance with this description.

E

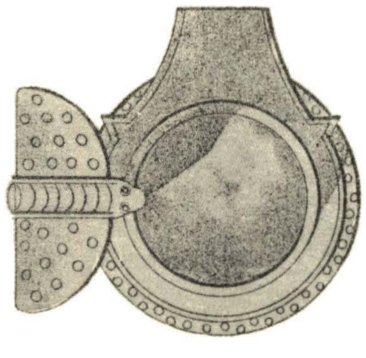


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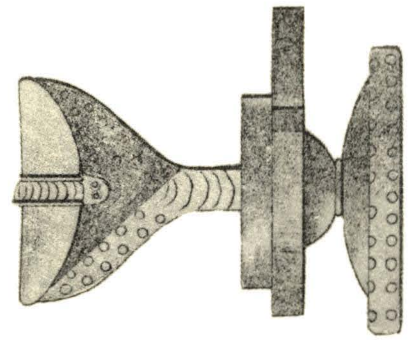
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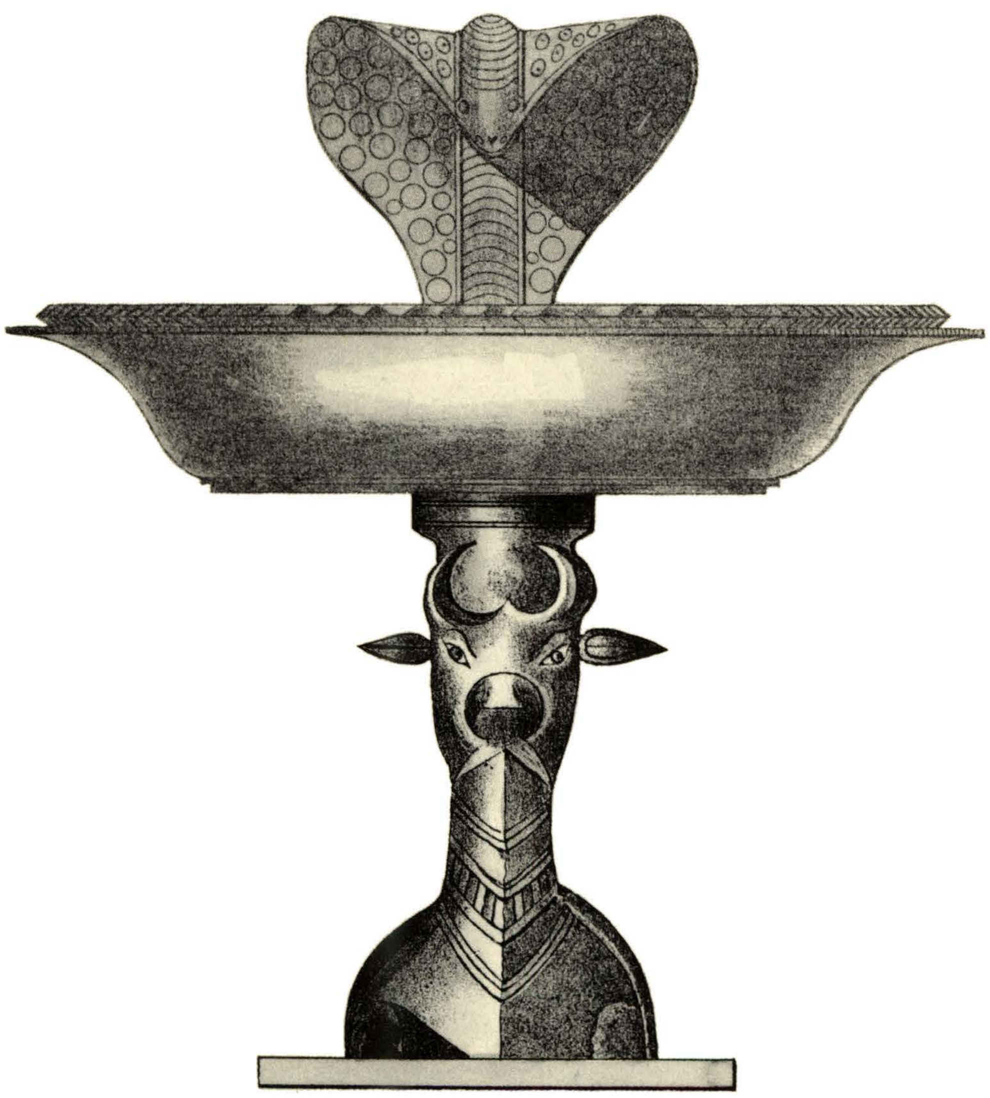
TOP VIEW.



TOP VIEW.



SIDE VIEW.



FRONT VIEW.



SIDE VIEW.

SCALE, NATURAL SIZE.

living thereon. The Mediní Kos'a makes a Nága to mean a wicked person, and in the eyes of a Vedic Hindu, any mountaineer not following the Vedás would undoubtedly appear to be so. The only people, however, who now bear the name of Nágás, appear to be in a state very little, if at all, removed from sheer barbarism.[51] There is hardly any government amongst them.[52] The very idea of a political society amongst such a people is impossible, and any hope of getting light from that quarter is, therefore, at present futile. From the Administration Report of the Central Provinces for the year 1867-68,[53] it appears that some Nágabansí tribe existed in the Pátná state more than 800 years ago, and a Ráṇí of this Nága family is said to have built several temples which still exist at a place called Ráná Jamiá. Should any inscriptions be discovered or any other documents bearing on the history of these Nágás be found, they will certainly throw light on the bearings of Nága or serpent-worship as it existed amongst these tribes, and probably also, on that of the Linga worship of S'iva.

Looking at modern accounts, I find a short notice of the Nágapanchamí, extracted into the Asiatic Journal for 1828 from the *Calcutta Government Gazette*.[54] And the third volume of the First Series of the journal of this Society contains a few lines regarding the observance of the Nágapanchamí, in a description of the township of Loṇí in the Puná districts, by Thomas Cotes, Esquire.[55] The Abbé Dubois dismisses the Nágapanchamí in three lines.[56] But he gives a longer notice of the Serpent and its worship as observed in his time.[57] The Venerable Abbé suffered in his philanthropic task from difficulties which are well summed up by Lord William Bentinck in the opinion he recorded at the time of sanctioning the publication at the expense

[51] Prichard's Physical History of Mankind, Vol. IV., pp. 225—228.

[52] See the Annual Reports of the Administration of the Bengal Presidency for 1865-66, pp. 167—169, and for 1866-67, pp. 161, 162.

[53] Administration Report by J. H. Morris, Esq., Bengal C. S., for the year 1867-68, p. 65.

[54] Asiatic Journal, Vol. XXVIII., pp. 334, 335.

[55] Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. III., p. 217.

[56] Dubois on the Manners and Customs of the People of India, second edition, p. 284.

[57] Ibid, pp. 324, 325.

of the Government.[58] I hope, however, we are situated much better at present. Such inquiries must, however, be conducted in a far different spirit from what used to be observed at one time; and an amusing instance of which is afforded by the disputes between the late Mr. Bentley and the writers in the *Edinburgh Review*.[59] I was led into an examination of these with a view to ascertain the date of the constellation A'śleshá or Sarpás [*a* 1 and 2 Cancri] (in whose honour some of the serpent hymns in the Vedás are written), as given in the Astronomy appended to the Vedás. I cannot say that I am yet satisfied with Mr. Bentley's reasoning on the question. The results of inquiries into serpent-worship and the history of the Nágás and Sarpás by the learned writers in the Asiatic Researches and the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society will also have to be studied in their bearings on the subject of this paper, though so far as I have observed there is nothing that conflicts with my statements.

From a consideration of the authorities hitherto examined and the rites and ceremonies which now obtain amongst the Hindus, it seems

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[58] Prefatory Advertisement to Abbé Dubois' work, p. vii.:—

"The result of my own observation during my residence in India is, that the Europeans generally know little or nothing of the customs and manners of the Hindus. We are all acquainted with some prominent marks and facts, which all who run may read; but their manner of thinking, their domestic habits and ceremonies, in which circumstances a knowledge of the people consists, is I fear in great part wanting to us. We understand very imperfectly their language. They perhaps know more of ours; but their knowledge is by no means sufficiently extensive to give a description of subjects not easily represented by the insulated words in daily use. We do not, we can not associate with the natives. We cannot see them in their houses, and with their families. We are necessarily very much confined to our houses by the heat; all our wants and business which would create a greater intercourse with the natives is done for us, and we are in fact strangers in the land. I have personally found the want of a work to which reference could be made for a just description of the native opinions and manners. I am of opinion, that, in a political point of view, the information which the work of the Abbé Dubois has to impart might be of the greatest benefit in aiding the servants of the government in conducting themselves more in unison with the customs and prejudices of the natives."

[59] I would refer the curious reader to Bentley's Historical View of the Hindu Astronomy (Edition of 1825,) and the Edinburgh Review, Vol. I., 7th Edition, pp. 42, 43, and Vol. X., 3rd Edition, pp. 455—471.

See also Kennedy's Hindu Mythology, where he undertakes to answer Mr. Bentley.

to me that some spiritual beings were at one time, and are still, invoked and worshipped under the name of Sarpa-devatás: amongst others, the Earth under the name of Sárpa-rájní, or the serpent-queen. The Sarpás or serpents themselves appear in connection with the sun and his annual motion through the different mansions of the ecliptic according to the Hindu system of astronomy, as well as the Puráṇás. One of the twenty-seven lunar mansions, *A's'leshá*, is described in the Vedás as having a serpent-goddess for its presiding deity. The serpents themselves are represented as spiritual beings inhabiting the earth, the sky, the air, and the waters. After a time, the Nágás appear on the stage. The Puráṇás describe their incarnations, and their relationship to Vishṇu and S'iva, the preserving and destroying principles of the Hindu triad. Now for the first time appears to occur a promiscuous use of the words Sarpás and Nágás, describing these two species as spiritual beings. Yet their office seems to be the same as that ascribed to them in former times. The Mahábhárata makes use of all the Nágás and Sarpás, to blacken the horse of the sun-god, and the Bhágavata-Puráṇa uses the twelve principal *Nágás* and Sarpás to tighten the sun's chariot. Besides these offices, they appear in connection with the two principal deities in the Hindu triad as has been already stated. The punishment of the Sarpa Kálíya by Kṛishṇa, commemorated in the Bhágavata-Puráṇa, forms the groundwork of the Nágapanchamí holiday, in various districts of this presidency. The destruction of serpents by Janamejaya and their salvation by A's'tíka is an event which supplies another tradition entering into the every day life of the Hindus. The alliances between the Nága women of resplendent beauty and the ancient kings like Arjuna, Kuvalayás'va and others, point to another era in the history of the Nágás in ancient times. Between this period, which, as viewed by our present lights, I would call the prehistoric period, and the time when the Amara-kos'a and the Medinííkos'a were written, a considerable interval must have elapsed; for the word Nága is used in the two last-named works as the synonym of a wicked mountaineer, or an outcaste, which does not appear to have been the case before. The present worship of serpents as idols, appears to be a mixture of the Puráṇika ceremonies and the practices of the Lingáyatás and the followers of other noṇ-Vedic creeds. It is intimately connected with the worship of the Linga, and has acted and been acted upon by that mode of worship to a great extent. The principal seats of the Linga worship are situated on the mountains, and

the origin of serpent-worship can also be traced there, although the ceremonial has doubtless been altered and amplified upon in the plains.

The actual practices and worship current on the Nágapanchamí and such other holidays will be the very best help in unravelling the mystery of the serpent-worship as well as the higher worship intimately connected therewith, viz., that of the Linga above-mentioned. I have tried to do this as briefly as possible, primarily in connection with the Nága-panchamí holiday. But I think we should not rest contented until all the other ceremonials in connection with Sarpás and Nágás are critically examined in detail; and the result of these investigations compared with similar researches into the history of serpent-worship amongst other nations, both of ancient and modern times, in all parts of the world. I shall be glad to follow up the present notice with other papers bearing on the same important question, so far as Western India is concerned; but it would give me a greater pleasure to see a larger amount of justice done to it by some more competent hand.

Art. X.—*The Fort of Panála.* By Captain E. W. West.

Read 7th October 1869.

The Fort of Pana'la, with its sister fort of Páwungadh, stands on a ridge, about 12 miles to the N. W. of Kolapúr, forming part of, though more or less divided from, a range of hills that runs nearly due East from the Ghauts. Its elevation above the plain of Kolapúr is calculated at 975 feet, and that above the level of the sea at 2,772 feet.* The position is naturally a very strong one, and as its strength has much increased by the elaborate fortifications added at various periods, the Fort was long reputed impregnable. Panála played a very prominent part in early Mahratta history, and we find it mentioned as a place of note in still more ancient times. A brief summary therefore of what is known about it may prove not uninteresting to the members of this Society.

In the Boodhist period, Panála and the neighbouring hills seem to have been favourite seats for Troglodyte recluses. In the former there are still to be seen three caves which most probably should be ascribed to this period. One of these, which is quite perfect, contains three chambers with bed-places cut out of the rock. Tradition declares it to have been the residence of a famous Rishi Páráshar, of whose wondrous doings many legends are related in the Kurweer Mahatma,† a work written some 150 years ago to magnify the sanctity of Kolapúr. In this work, the name of the place is given as Pangálya. This designation has not been met with elsewhere, but in some of the old inscriptions the name appears as Pránalák and Padmanála.

As we approach the period of the Mussalman invasion of the Deccan, we begin to find some records that enable us to catch a more distinct glimpse of the past. A corner of the curtain rises, and we see that the country about Kolapúr was then, like the greater portion of India at the time, under the sway of Rajpoot Rajas. A copper-plate inscription found at Sattara, and of which a translation is given in the

* See page 120 of Major D. C. Graham's "Statistical Report on the Principality of Kolhapoor," published as No. VIII. of the new Series of Selections from the Records of the Government of Bombay.

† See page 338. An account of the Boodhist Caves in the neighbourhood of Kolapúr will be found in the same work, at pp. 314, 315.

Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society, vol. III., pages 393-397, shows that in A. D. 1191-2 Panála was the seat of a Raja of the Silára tribe of Rajpoots, who claimed to belong to the Jímút Wahán dynasty, the lords of the famous Tagara. This prince's name was Bhoj Raja, and the grant gives his genealogy, which is here reproduced, with notes showing the light thrown on the subject by other inscriptions:—

- Jatiga.
  - Naimma.
    - Chandra Rat.
      - * Jatiga.
        - † Gokul.
          - Marsingha.
            - ‡ Juwala.
            - Bhoja Deva.
            - Bullal Deva.
            - Gandara Aditya.
              - § Vijaya Ark Deva.
                - || Bhoja Deva.
                  - Gandara Aditya.
        - Guwel.
        - Kirti.
        - Chandra Aditya.

* The inscription given at p. 381 of Graham's Report calls this man "Gorawntesh." That however given at p. 358 of the same work calls him "Jyateego," evidently the same name as that in the text.

† The genealogy given by Sir W. Elliot in p. 33 of the 4th volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society states the first two names differently. The correctness however of those in the text is demonstrated by the inscriptions referred to in the preceding note.

‡ The same genealogy gives five sons to Marsingha, viz. Govala, Gunga Deva, Bellal Deva, Gundaraditya, and Bhoj Raja. This is borne out by the inscription at p. 35[illegible] of Graham's Report. Gandara aditya in the inscription given in page 349 of the same work is mentioned as reigning at Walwud in A.D. 1118. The inscription at p. 358 calls him "Geyaditya," and mentions that he had a son named (?) Shilahar, who was the king of Tagarapoor.

§ Called in the inscription at p. 381 of Graham's Report "Wujeeaditya," king of "Tagarapoor." The inscription, which is dated A.D. 1151, represents him as living at Walwud.

|| Major Graham in his report gives three inscriptions referring to Bhoja

From the paper in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society above referred to and from a comparison of the available inscriptions, we learn that in the early part of the 12th century a race of Rajpoot chiefs, of the Silára tribe and Jimútwahán dynasty, who were nominally feudatories of the Rajas of Kaleean, but who called themselves the lords of Tagara, reigned at Walwud, which has been variously identified with Walwa and Walewday, both places in the present Kolapúr territory. We find Bhoj Raja at first mentioned as residing at the same place, but in A. D. 1187 he is represented as ruling at Kolapúr,* and three years afterwards as "reigning in happiness on the hill fort of Panála." In one of the inscriptions he is called "the surmounter of mountains and forts," and in another "a thunderbolt levelling the mountain-like race of turbulent Rajas who had subjected the hill forts." It would appear therefore that he gradually moved from his original capital to the North, and dispossessed the (probably aboriginal) Chiefs who held strong positions on the ranges of hills running Eastward from the Ghauts. Tradition states that he was the builder of fifteen of the strongest forts in the country, including Panála, Bowra, Vishalgadh, Sattara, and others.† From the inscriptions it would seem that he made Panála his headquarters or capital, and that there, in the intervals of his sterner labours, he "amused himself with pleasing tales," with hearing "harmonious numbers, and himself celebrating in verse the praises of Rama," besides theological studies, for it is expressly stated that he was "well versed

Deva. The first (p. 382) is dated A.D. 1179. It calls Bhoj Deva by the title of Maha Mundaleshwur, and represents him as residing at Walwud. The second (p. 397), dated A.D. 1187, represents him as ruling at Kolapúr; while the third (p. 398), dated A.D. 1190-1, describes him as reigning in happiness at Panála. In the paper in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, alluded to in Note †, reference is made to an inscription dated A.D. 1215, in which Sinha Deva Yádú styles himself "a Garuda to the serpent-like Bhoja lord of Panála."

* Forbes, in "Ras Mala" (vol. I. p. 179), states on the authority of Merootung, that Sidh Raj of Anhilpúr extended his dominions so far into the Deccan as to excite the alarm of the king of Kolapúr. The reign of Sidh Raj however, was from A.D. 1094 to 1143, a good many years before Bhoj Raja transferred the capital from Walwud to Kolapúr. The reference may be to the Walwud kings, who afterwards reigned at Kolapúr.

† See Grant Duff, I. 21, note (Indian reprint). It may be mentioned here that Bhoodergurh, one of these forts, has not lost its old designation, as Grant Duff seems to have supposed, but still bears the same name, which it lends to a Mamlatdar's district in Kolapúr.

in the five holy books;" and that he had "crossed the ocean of all Shastras." These endowments are briefly summed up in one of the inscriptions, which states "he was endowed with poetical and other qualifications, and what other Pundit is there like him in the world?" It is possible, that tradition is right in ascribing the citadel in the fort of Panála, in which a magnificent Ambár Khána, or granary, was built in more modern times, to the period of Bhoj Raja.

According to the legends of the country, we are told by Grant Duff, this prince "reigned over the whole of the tract extending from the Mahadeo range of hills, north of Sattara, to the Hurnkassee river south of Kolapúr, and including all the southern tract of the Concan as far as Sewdasheogurh." One of the inscriptions refers also to his victories over the lords of Kalinga and Lankusha.

Bhoj Raja, we are informed by Grant Duff, was according to tradition reduced by a Raja named Singin,—also a Rajpoot. It is a remarkable fact that in one of Bhoj Raja's inscriptions (Graham's Report, p. 397) "Shingun Raja" is mentioned by name as his contemporary; and in A.D. 1213 we find Shingun Deva, who is described as being of the Yádu tribe of Rajpoots, making a grant in the Meeruj District (see Graham's Report, p. 418), which had formed part of Bhoj Raja's territory, so that the truth of the oral tradition seems incontestably established.

We know but little of the history of Panála for some time after this event; the name does not appear in the inscriptions relating to the successors of Shingun Deva, and it is probable that, as Grant Duff states, the place fell into the hands of the Mahratta Polygars. As the Mahomedans under Mulik Rahim took Vishalgadh in A.D. 1234, it is most likely that they reduced Panála and Pawangadh about the same time. Inscriptions record the fact of a Mussalman settlement called Nubhapoor, on the south-east side of the former fort in the year 1376.

On the establishment of the Adil Shahee dynasty at Bijápúr, Panála came into their possession, and was fortified with great care. To this period are to be assigned the elaborate ramparts, gateways &c. that run along the edge of the hill in a circuit of 5½ miles, and that it took, according to tradition, a hundred years to build, as well as the Eedgha, palaces, and other architectural remains. A majority of the numerous inscriptions extant in the buildings in question refer to the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah.

A position like that of Panála was not likely to escape long the keen eye of Sivajee in his contests with the Mussalmans. Accordingly in A. D. 1659, immediately after his murder of Afzul Khan, he made for the place, which fell at once into his hands. Grant Duff (vol. I. p. 128) is inclined to attribute this result to the treachery of the Commandant, but Major Graham (Report, p. 121) states that Sivajee got the place through a stratagem of his faithful adherents, who endured a public affront and personal chastisement as a plea for desertion, and who, enlisting with the enemy, opened the gates during the night. This success and the vigorous use he made of it, soon brought against him the Bijapúr army under Sidi Johar, which in May 1660 besieged Panála, where Sivajee had shut himself up. After the siege had lasted four months, Sivajee, finding himself closely invested, determined to fly, and accomplished his purpose by opening negotiations for the surrender of the fort, and when the suspicions of the Bijapúr general had thus been lulled, escaping in the night to Rangna. Panála and Pawangadh were shortly afterwards taken by Ali Adil Shah in person.

After the death of this monarch Sivajee, in 1673, recovered Panála. Abdul Kurim, the Bijapúr general (the ancestor of the Savanúr Nawábs), marched against the place in the following year, but had to retreat with loss, and Panála remained in Sivajee's hands during the rest of his life, and was used by him as a place of confinement for his son Sumbhajee, who was under surveillance there at the time of his father's death in 1680. Nine years after he left the same place on the licentious errand that caused his captivity and death, and Panála fell into the hands of the Moghuls, from whom it was retaken in 1692 by Purusram Trimbak.

This led to the siege of the place by Aurangzíb in person in 1701, an event of peculiar interest as, while the Moghul Emperor was engaged in this operation, he received a visit from the English Ambassador Sir William Norris, who on the 28th April was admitted to an audience in state. Bruce, in his somewhat dry annals of the East India Company, has thought fit to give the details of the Ambassador's procession on this occasion,* and they are perhaps worth noting as characteristic. The order of the procession was as follows :—

Mr. Christor, Commander of His Excellency's Artillery, on horseback.

Twelve carts wherein were carried the twelve brass guns for presents.

* Mr. Anderson, in his "English in Western India," p. 150, has transcribed the details, from Bruce.

Five hackeries with the cloth, &c., for presents.

One hundred Cohors and Messures (coolies and gentlemen) carrying the glass-ware and looking-glasses for presents.

Two fine Arabian horses, richly caparisoned, for presents.

Two ditto without caparisons, for presents.

Four English soldiers, on horseback, guarding the presents.

The Union flag.

The red, white, and blue flags.

Seven State horses, richly caparisoned, two with English furniture, and five with Indian.

The King's and his Excellency's crests.

One State palanquin, with English furniture, of silver tissue, brocaded.

Two other crests.

The Music, with rich liveries, on horseback.

Mr. Basset, Lieut. of H. E.'s foot-guards, on horseback.

Ten servants, in rich liveries, on horseback.

The King's and my Lord's arms.

One kettle drum, in livery, on horseback.

Three trumpets, in liveries, on horseback.

Capt. Symons, Commander of H. E.'s guard.

Twelve troopers, every way armed, and accoutred after the English mode.

Mr. Beverly, Lieut. of H. E.'s horse guards.

The King's and my Lord's arms, richly gilt and very large, the first being borne by sixteen men.

Mr. John Mill and Mr. Whitaker, on horseback, in rich laced coats.

Mr. Hall, Master of the Horse, richly drest, carrying the sword of State pointed up.

His Excellency in a rich palanquin, Indian embroidered furniture.

Four pages, two on each side of H. E.'s palanquin, richly drest.

Edward Norris, Esq., Secretary to the Embassy, in a rich palanquin, carrying H. M.'s letter to the Emperor; on each side Mr. Wingate and Mr. Shettleworth, in rich laced coats, on horseback.

Mr. Harlewyn, Treasurer, wearing a gold key; and Mr. Adiel Mill, Secretary to His Excellency, in a coach.

Aurangzíb received the Ambassador very graciously, and gave orders for the issue of the grant he required, in return for which favours His Excellency paid another visit of state, and presented the Emperor with two hundred gold mohurs. It would be out of place here to narrate the various circumstances which rendered the negotiations, thus prosperously commenced, finally unsuccessful, and that compelled the Ambassador to take his leave after seven months' residence at the Emperor's Camp.

One cannot but lament that the annalist, instead of giving us these elaborate details of the procession, had given us some extracts descriptive of the state of the country, &c., from the Ambassador's letters and despatches.* It would be interesting to know whether Aurangzíb took Panála on this occasion, or whether, as tradition says, he had to retire baffled. The Emperor seems to have left Panála before Sir W. Norris' departure, as we read that the latter took his leave on the 5th November from "the Moghul's Camp at Murdawnghur."

In any case Panála and Pawangadh fell into the hands of the Moghuls about this time, and were not long afterwards escaladed and taken by Ramchunder Punt Amatya, the ancestor of the present chief of Bavada (Bowra) in the Kolapúr territory. Tara Baee then made the place her head quarters, but lost it for a time in the war with Shao, the Raja of Sattara, to whom the Havildar in command surrendered the forts, only to recover it almost immediately. From this time the forts remained undisturbedly in the possession of the Kolapúr Rajas, who long held their court in Panála. The place acquired a terrible notoriety under Jíjí Bái during whose reign (she died in 1772) human sacrifices were encouraged to a fearful extent, the victims being immolated at a spot close to the royal palace in Panála—thus described by Major Graham (Report p. 497) :—

"The temple to the infernal deity was situated in the inner fort, where the walls of two towers close together, and where every ray of sunshine is intercepted by the dense foliage of the overhanging trees. Dark, dismal, and lonely, the spot appears suitable for the vile purpose for which it was used, and to this day the Black Tower of Panála enjoys an unenviable notoriety."

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* As Sir W. Norris was at feud with the E. I. Company's authorities in India his letters to them probably related solely to business. The ampler reports that he must have sent home would surely contain much of interest and value.

Horrible as these rites were, they were scarcely out of place in a fort, many of whose towers had arisen over the live bodies of human beings thus offered in sacrifice to the goddess of destruction.*

In 1827 when Shahjee, Raja of Kolapúr, generally known as Bawa Sahib, for the third time excited the anger of the British Government, and rendered it necessary to send a force against him, he had to surrender temporarily the forts of Panála and Pavangadh. In 1844, during the minority of his son, these forts were taken possession of by rebels, who seized Colonel Ovans, the Resident of Sattara, as he was travelling, and set the authorities at defiance. A British force, however, under General Delamotte, arrived before the place on the 25th November. On the 1st December Panála was breached, and carried by storm, and Pavangadh fell the same day into the hands of the besiegers. The forts were afterwards dismantled.

Panála is now the head-quarters of a Mamlutdar's district, and is a favourite place of resort in the hot season for the Europeans stationed at Kolapúr.

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* Major Graham, "Report," p. 502, note, mentions having seen a sunud to an oil-vendor, giving him in perpetuity a lot of land for making over to the authorities his daughter-in-law to be thus buried alive. This doubtless was not a solitary instance.

Art. XI.—*The Dialectic of the Nyáya Dars'ana.* By the Rev. R. Stothert, M.A.

Read 7th October 1869.

All that is strictly logical in the Nyáya Dars'ana may be summed up under the heads of: 1st—The analysis of certain knowledge; 2nd—The division of inference; 3rd—The division of true argument into its members; 4th—The description of the *reductio ad absurdum;* 5th—Lists of fallacies, of false and futile answers, and of cases of failure of argument. The futile answers and various sorts of failure in argument constitute the whole of the 5th and last chapter, according to the arrangement in the Bibliotheca Indica.

Colebrooke gives merely the title of the chapter, without any analysis of its contents.

The chapter may be called a short treatise on Dialectic. The following translation gives the meaning of the Sutras, as illustrated by the commentary of Vatsyayana.

There are twenty-four varieties of futile objections:—

1. Where a conclusion is drawn from a difference, the opponent may draw an opposite conclusion from a similarity.

2. Where a conclusion is drawn from a difference, the opponent may draw an opposite conclusion from another difference.

The objection is futile where the resemblance or difference refers to non-essential properties.

Example 1st.—Spirit is capable of form, for all substance is so; as in the case of a lump of earth. To this the opponent replies: spirit is not capable of form, for pervasive substance is not; as in the case of space. *2nd.*—Spirit is incapable of form, for it is pervasive; and substance, which is capable of form, is visible and not pervasive; as in the case of a lump of earth. To this the opponent replies: space which is visible is substance incapable of form, but spirit is not visible; therefore it is not incapable of form.

When the conclusion is drawn from unessential resemblance or difference, the argument is fallacious. So the presence of a cow is proved from the presence of its essential qualities, or from its definition, not from any number of separate qualities; and its absence is proved from the essential difference of the object observed, not from the absence of any separate quality. It does not follow that any difference proves the negative simply because a certain difference does so; or that any resemblance must prove the affirmative simply because a certain resemblance does so. The question is, of what nature is the resemblance or the difference.

3. When the opponent makes no exception regarding any property of the example, as not belonging to the subject of the conclusion, but argues that if they resemble in one point they resemble in all points.

4. Where the opponent argues from resemblance in one point that, whatever is not true of one cannot be true of the other. 5. When he infers that since you prove the conclusion from the example, you may prove the example from the conclusion; 6. Or that since you cannot prove the example from the conclusion, neither can you prove the conclusion from the example. 7. When he infers the partiality of one property from that of another. 8. When he disproves the argument from the example to the subject of the conclusion from the failure of the argument from the subject of the conclusion to the example.

Example 3rd. If spirit is incapable of form because matter is, it does not follow that it must be tangible. *4th.*—Nor that spirit must be capable of form, and visible, because a lump of earth is. These examples suffice also for *5th* and *6th*. *7th.*—Nor that some material things must be capable of form and some incapable, because some are light and some are heavy. *8th.*—Nor that because it does not hold that as is spirit so is a lump of earth, therefore it does not hold that as is a lump of earth so is spirit. But though there may be no conclusion from a slight resemblance, it does not follow that there is no resemblance; still less when the resemblance is essential, and examples can be tested by everybody.

9. When the opponent argues against the relation of cause and effect in any particular case from the production of other effects from the same causes, &c. 10. From some accidental interference with the production of the effect. But with the agent the means and the

substance the production of the effect must follow, though it may not be a single effect; and the effect may be destroyed after being produced, as an earthen vessel may be broken.

11. When the opponent requires a proof of your illustration; or,

12. Takes a counter illustration as a premise in another argument; for example, when you are required to prove that a lump of earth is an illustration of material substance, and when in answer to the inference that spirit is capable of form because it is a substance like a lump of earth, the counter illustration is brought forward of space which is not capable of form though a substance, it does not follow because space is a substance, its union with the air must produce fruit as in the union of air and plant.

Light is not required to see light, and the proper test of a counter illustration is its opposition to the original illustration. If the counter illustration does not hold, the original illustration does, and *vice versâ.*

13. When the opponent denies the relation of antecedent and consequent as regards things not actually in existence; for example, one says that voice is distinct from any particular utterance, and therefore not the consequence of anything: but apart from particular utterance voice has no existence, and wherever it has an existence it is as a consequence of the antecedent utterance. All that the relation requires is that it holds in every case of actual existence.

14. When the opponent regards the connection of the illustration and the common quality which is proved by it as implying the absence of all resemblance apart from the similarity of properties.

For example, if production by effort is used as a reason for the non-eternity of the voice, as in the case of a vessel, it does not follow that the eternal and non-eternal have nothing in common (perceptibility for instance), or that similarity in accidents is inconsistent with difference in essentials. If there is no such distinction between essential and accidental difference, or between general and particular resemblance, there can be no certainty. If resemblance causes doubt, difference must remove it. We may certainly pronounce an object to be a man as distinct from other objects, although they may have qualities in common. Our argument may stop short of general resemblances.

15. When the opponent uses as a reason a proposition allowed by hypothesis to be equally available for both sides. For example, if it is allowed that production by consequence from effort is common to both eternity and non-eternity, the proposition that voice is produced by effort cannot be used in proof that voice is non-eternal. This may be a statement of an opposite opinion, but it is not an argument. It is by hypothesis an open question.

16. When the opponent argues that the reason, being the cause of the conclusion, must be either before, or after, or at the same time with it. If before, where is the effect? If after, where is the cause? If at the same time, which is which? But the affirmation and negation are the effects of the reason, as following from it. The thing to which the conclusion refers may not be actually present. In the absence of any objection the original conclusion holds good.

17. When the opponent uses a tacit inference from the same reason which still does not prove the opposite conclusion. For example, if it is proved that voice is non-eternal, as having in common with non-eternal the property of production by effort, the opponent argues by implication that voice must be eternal as having in common with eternal the property of intangibility. But where both may be true there is no opposition, as clouds may betoken both rain and hail; and where there is opposition the first is as much a refutation of the second as the second of the first. For if it is said that an inference from resemblance to what is non-eternal implies the possibility of an opposite inference from resemblance to what is eternal, the implication must hold equally both ways.

18. When the opponent infers that since we argue from the possession of one quality to the possession of another we may argue from the natural qualities common to everything, to similarity in everything. But an argument is good when there is resemblance in some qualities though not in others. For example, when there is resemblance as regards production by effort, we may infer a further resemblance in the quality of non-eternity. But supposing that we infer that all things are non-eternal from the nature common to all things, we have a proposition without any example, and therefore without any proof. Besides that all things are not non-eternal, since the opposition of eternal and non-eternal exists. Essential nature cannot serve as a particular example.

19. When the opponent alleges that reasons exist for both the opposite conclusions. For exnmple, that if there is a reason for voice being non-eternal, its intangibility is equally a reason for its being eternal. But this is no refutation of the original opinion. If used as a refutation it holds against one as much as against the other.

20. When the opponent brings forward an instance of the effect in the absence of the alleged reason. For example, sound of wind in trees is non-eternal, though not produced by effort. But a second cause is no refutation of the first.

21. When the opponent alleges that if the non-existence of a thing is inferred from there being no perceptible hinderances to prevent its being perceived, then the existence of a thing must be inferred from the non-perception of its non-perception; for as non-perception of a hinderance proves non-existence of the thing, so the non-perception of this proves indirectly the existence of the perception, and therefore of the thing. For example, if it is inferred that voice does not exist before it is pronounced from there being no perceptible hinderances to its being heard, the opponent replies that then the non-perception of this non-perception proves it not to exist, and consequently that there is perception. But non-perception is simply the absence of perception. A proposition is simply the expression of the presence or absence of perception. The question of positive or negative is a question of individual experience. When I say, so and so is not; I mean I do not perceive it. Therefore, the argument from the non-perception of an obstacle holds.

22. When the opponent objects that if you prove similarity in any quality from another common quality (a general similarity) you must conclude that all things possess some quality in common in addition to their general similarity as existence. For example, if word is non-eternal because vessel is, so must everything be. But if there is no argument from similarity there can be no argument of any kind, and therefore no refutation either, and the possession of a common quality may be the foundation of an inference where mere general similarity is not. The similarity in order to make a proper example or proof must be applicable to the case in hand. As far as the similarity extends, a positive inference is warranted, and as far as difference extends a negative inference—(v. § 18).

23. When the opponent replies that if non-eternity is eternal, what is non-eternal must also be eternal. For example, if voice is non-eternal, and its non-eternity is eternal, voice itself must also be eternal. But a quality cannot be inferred from its opposite. Voice is non-eternal, because it stops. You might as well ask if the eternity of voice is non-eternal; which would imply the existence of two opposite qualities in one thing.

24. When the opponent objects that since a cause produces repeated effects, the relation is not a necessary one. For example, as voice appears to follow from the effort of utterance, may the same effect not be produced by a repeated removal of something which conceals the voice? But the removal of a hinderance is distinct from the production of the thing itself, and has a distinct cause; or if ceasing or beginning again do not prove non-eternity, neither do they prove the opposite. If one cannot prove that what follows from production is not simply disclosure, neither can the other prove that what is disclosed does not follow from production. And so in all cases of futile answers, whatever holds in the reply holds equally in the original argument; and if the objection is objected to, the further objection will not hold any better. For instance, the first opinion is, voice is non-eternal, because it is produced by effort. The second is, that voice is only disclosed. The third, that the second is not more certain than the first. The fourth, that the third is equally faulty with the second. The fifth rejects this objection as not better founded than the third; and the sixth replies once more that this opinion is not more certainly proved than the fourth; or that the likelihood of the truth being on the side of the fifth, is no greater than of its being on the side of the fourth.

Twenty-two refutations, or cases of failure in argument:—

1. When you reply to your opponent by his own example. To the argument that voice is non-eternal because it is sensible, like a vessel, the opponent objects that it may be eternal like the general notion which is both eternal and sensible, and you silence the opponent by saying that in that case a vessel also can be eternal.
2. When a new argument is employed. To take the same example, the opponent may still reply that the general notion is sensible in a different way from a vessel. You reply again that voice is non-eternal, because it is sensible in the way in which a vessel is sensible. Then the objector to your proof is silenced.

3. When the proposition and reason are contradictory. For example, matter is devoid of quality, because form, &c., are not perceivable apart from substance.

4. When the proposition is dismissed with emphasis. For example, when the opponent who argues from the eternity of the general notion asks who will now call voice non-eternal.

5. When in reply to an objection against the want of speciality in the reason a new reason is given of the kind desired. For example, if it is argued that what is visible has only one nature, because the changes of what has only one nature are its limitations; and in reply to the objection that in what has various natures, the changes are also seen to be limitations, the reason takes this new form that the changes are limitations in things which have one nature along with no other form.

6. When the etymological meaning is taken as exchangeable with the meaning in composition.

7. When sounds are uttered without meaning. Letters not arranged in words are unmeaning.

8. When words are uttered in such a way as to be inaudible though repeated thrice.

9. When words are uttered without any connection in meaning.

10. When the members of an argument are used in proving a connection in things of different signification—(*post hoc ergo propter hoc*).

11. When the members of an argument are used with one wanting.

12. When more reasons than one are given.

13. When the same words are repeated, or the same thing in other words. But in the members of an argument the repetition is significant—when the reason consists only of what is necessarily implied in the original statement. For example, all that is created is non-eternal implies that all that is not created is eternal.

14. When there is no reply to a statement thrice repeated.

15. When ignorance prevents reply.

16. When the objection is not met.

17. When one stops the argument in order to attend to something else.
18. When one without answering the objection retorts it on his opponent.
19. When there is an appearance of failure though the disputant recover himself.
20. When there is a supposition of failure without any good reason.
21. When one changes the meaning of the original proposition; as by the inference that every individual has one nature, because change is a limitation of nature; where the changes of nature are confused with the changes of an individual, while in reality nature is used in opposition to the presence of any quality.
22. Fallacious reasons are five :—
    1. Voice is eternal for it is intangible, for a vessel is non-eternal and it is tangible; therefore voice not being tangible is eternal.
    2. This phenomenon changes, therefore it is non-eternal; its change is not eternal for it does not perish. If the change is to prove non-eternity it must itself be eternal.
    3. Voice is non-eternal, because its eternity is not perceived; which would hold equally well for the opposite.
    4. A shadow is material for it moves; but it does not move in the proper sense of the word.*
    5. Voice is eternal for it is disclosed by contact, as form by contact with light. But a sound is audible after the contact has ceased. The cases therefore are not similar.

The whole of the Nyáya Dars'ana may be called a Dialectical Treatise, inasmuch as it represents all subjects as admitting of discussion. The last chapter, however, is strictly dialectical in the sense of leaving out of account the subject matter of discussion, while it illustrates the distinction of discussions into those which leave the question open to objections which, however, are not valid objections, and those in which it is brought to a decisive issue. As far as this is a logical distinction it is based on the nature of the logical relation between the reason assigned and the conclusion of any argument. Viewing that relation as identical

* It is curious that Epicurus, according to Diogenes Laërtius, used this argument to prove that the shapes in dreams are material.

with that of cause and effect, a conclusion affirming any effect as due to a certain cause would of course admit the possibility of other causes being assigned to the same effect. On the other hand, an argument proceeding on a misrepresentation of this relation itself would refute itself, and virtually establish the opposite conclusion.

Analysis of disputation, which thus assumes nothing more than the possibility of apparent uncertainty, is entitled to be considered as strictly logical. This praise, however, is due only under restrictions to the chapter before us. Dialectic requires only the distinction between necessary and accidental connection—a distinction essential to the purest formal logic.* And what is important in this chapter is founded on this distinction, and so far it really is important.

In the Topics of Aristotle and his book on Sophisms, which treat of Dialectic as opposed to Demonstrative Logic, we have a far more elaborate analysis of disputation than in this chapter. It must be remembered, however, that the dialectic of Aristotle consists of the application of a Rhetorical Analysis to Dialectical purposes, so that these treatises are much more rhetorical than logical. And it is undeniable that, as Reid remarks, he teaches his pupils to contend for victory rather than for truth. In the Analytics again, Aristotle treats of demonstration or the establishment of a necessary connection with necessary premises; and the characteristic of this treatise is the importance attached to the deductive syllogism. The Logic of the Nyáya, on the other hand, while drawing the distinction between the necessary and the accidental, omits entirely the analysis of demonstration, except so far as that is included in the analysis of disputation. The explanation of this, it is probable, is, that Greek Logic found its chief application in the analysis of rhetorical composition; while Hindu Logic, not being concerned with books or speeches, was applied simply to disputation. It was natural that where the analysis of Rhetorical composition was kept chiefly in view, the figure of syllogism, which is itself a rhetorical illustration of the Logical relation, should be largely dwelt upon, and that the illustration should be carried out into all its details, and all the varieties of its forms. And it was equally natural on the other hand that where regard was paid mainly to the analysis of discussion, rhetorical figures should be taken notice of only as affecting the continua-

* Unless with some recent logicians we make the logical relation that of identity in quantity which is a material relation, and so reduce logic to a question of calculation.

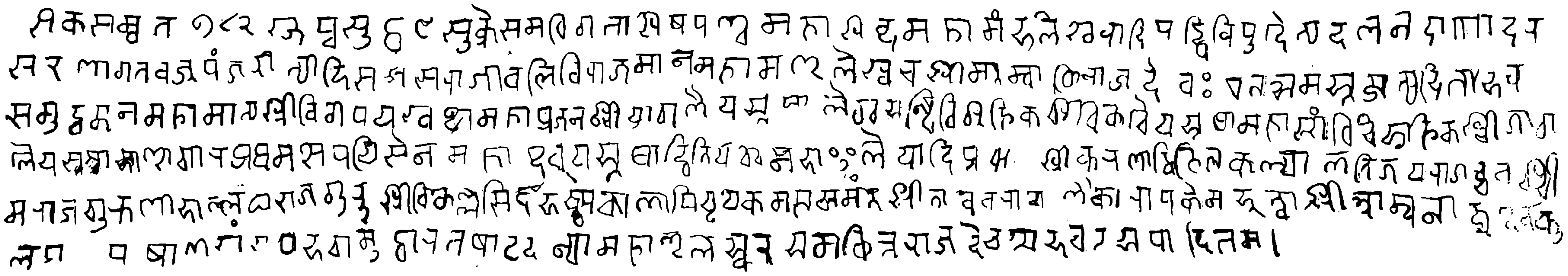
tion or the termination of the dispute. Instead of calling the Hindu syllogism rhetorical, as is sometimes done, I should call it dialectical. In the familiar example, the fact of the smoking mountain being on fire is inferred from the production of smoke by fire in the case of a kitchen hearth. We have first the statement of the opinion with the reason for it, and then a repetition of the opinion as the opening of a discussion with an example in point.

It is a remarkable fact that the unwieldy implements of disputation furnished in the Topics of Aristotle were so generally adopted and continued so long in use; while the Hindu Analysis of discussion shows a tendency in more recent treatises to degenerate into mere word-making.

It will be observed that this common specimen of the Hindu syllogism is, in fact, what Aristotle calls an *Enthymeme*, or rhetorical syllogism, that is a syllogism from a sign. It must not be supposed, however, that deductive inference is the only kind of inference taken into account. Specimens of the example, or rhetorical induction come equally well under the rules of this treatise. Indeed, this is a specimen both of the Enthymeme and of the Example—as inferring the existence of fire from the smoke, it is an Enthymeme, and as proving this to be true in one case from its being true in another it is an Example. The distinction between induction and deduction was not required for Dialectic any farther than as expressing the difference between inferring the effect from the cause and the cause from the effect. In our Logic, while we make the distinction, we generally leave induction nearly altogether out of account, no doubt because deduction is more closely connected with rhetoric than induction.

To conclude, Hindu Dialectic belongs especially to a time when books were not of the same importance as they are now; though, of course, in what is common to disputation and rhetorical composition, it is still as appropriate as the Logic we are more familiar with; for the clear and methodical arrangement of ideas may be learned from the analysis of discussion, as well as from the analysis of composition. And if it is characteristic of classical writing that every word and every syllable has a force and significance, Gautama's Sutras on Dialectic and Vatsyayana's commentary are both fully entitled to be called classical; and, in this respect, contrast favourably with much Sanskrit literature, where the redundancy of words offends correct taste, and is a bad model for the young student.

FACSIMILE OF AN INSCRIPTION IN THE TEMPLE OF ÁMRA-NÁTHA NEAR KALYÁNA.



ART. XII.—*Facsimile, Transcript, and Translation of an Inscription discovered by* MR. G. W. TERRY *in the temple of A'mra-Nátha, near Kalyána; with Remarks.* By BHA'U DA'JI', Esq., Vice-President.

Read 8th July 1869.

Transcript.

१. शकसम्वत् ७८२ जेठ सुध ९ सुक्रे समधिगताशेष पञ्च महाशब्द महामंडलेश्वरादि पद्विरिपुदैत्यदलनदामोदर

२. सरणागतवज्रपंजरीत्यादिसमस्तराजावलिविराजमानमहामण्डलेश्वर श्री- महम्वाणिराजदेवः एतत्समस्तजात्यधिताभव

३. समुद्घमनमहामात्य श्रीविगपयस्तथा महामजनः श्रीनागणैयस्तथाले- खसन्धिविग्रहिक श्रीवेकरेयस्तथा महासांधिविग्राहिक श्रीजाग

४. लैयस्तथा भाण्डागार प्रथम सपमिसेन महादेव यस्तथा द्वितीय खम- भाइले यादिमधा- श्रीकरणाद्दिहितकल्याणविजयराज्यवृद्धतश्री

५. महाराजगुरुणाभालघराजगुरु श्रीविकलसिदभस्मकाणापित्रृयकमहासामं- तश्रीता— वरा— लैकारापकेनभूत्वा श्रीआम्रनाथदेवकु

६. लं— —पाषाण— — —पभागमुद्धार तथा उदन्या महामण्डलेश्वर समछित्त राजदेवस्य भवनं संपादितं

Translation.

In S'aka Samvat 782 (A. C. 860), the ninth day of the bright half, of the month Jyestha, Friday, (during the reign of) the Mahámandales'vara S'rí Mahamvánirájadeva, who has obtained the title of Mahámandales'vara, (also) the five great insignia of Royalty, &c., who is a Dámodara (Vishnu) in punishing his enemies the Daityas, a cage of adamant to those seeking his protection, &c., and resplendent amongst the row of rajas, whose various officers were the large-minded Mahámátya

(Chief Minister), Sri Vigapaya, also Maháptajana (the chief relative), S'rí Náganaiya, also Lekha Sandhi Vigrahika (Secretary), S'rí Dheka Dheya, also Mahá Sandhi Vigrahika S'rí Jagalaiya, also Bhándágára prathama (Chief Treasurer), Sapayisena, also the Second (Treasurer) Mahádevaya, also Khamabhaileya and other ministers. Whilst under their auspices the administration of the kingdom was successful and beneficent, there flourished S'rí Mahárája Guru, also S'rí Bhallagha Rája Guru, and also S'rí Vikalla Sida Bhasmaka (three letters lost), and they, at the desire of Mahá Sámanta S'rí, having undertaken the construction, the temple of S'rí A'mra-Nátha (two letters lost) was restored in stone. The house of Mahámandales'vara of Udanya? Samachhitta Rája Deva was (also) constructed.

Remarks.

The temple of A'mra-Nátha is situated about 4½ miles south-east of Kalyan. It has lately been well described by Mr. Burgess, a learned member of our Society, in the *Times of India.*

I have taken notes of the temple myself, but as I am engaged in a more important work, I regret I must put off presenting the Society with my own description of the temple and its mythological remains. I shall only make a few remarks on the inscription which was discovered in the temple by Mr. G. W. Terry. I have examined the original, and copied from it, and I have also consulted an excellent Plaster of Paris cast of it taken by Mr. Terry. The inscription is 3 feet and 3¼ inches long and 5½ inches broad. It consists of six lines, written in Sanskrit, in Saka Samvat 782, *i. e.* A.C. 860.

The inscription clearly shows that the correct name of the temple, or rather of the Linga worshipped in it, is A'mra-Nátha, evidently derived from A'mra, a mango. There is a mango tree near the ruined temple, and large topes of mango trees at the neighbouring village about a mile distant.

From the expression in the inscription "the temple of A'mra-Nátha was restored in stone," it appears that an older temple existed on the spot. The correctness of this inference is borne out by the fact that several stones in the body of the dome of the temple have been discovered by Mr. Terry with old Devanágari letters, forming portions of an older inscription. They are insufficient to enable me to make out anything from them. The form of the letters, however, shows that they are about a century older than the present inscription.

The king Mahámandales'vara Mahamváni-rája-deva appears to me to have been of the Yádava family, from a comparison of his titles with those of a Yádava prince, a copy of whose copperplate grant, found in Bassein, dated Saka 991, is in my possession. The names of the minister, &c. of both end also in aiya.

The place Udanya, indicated in the inscription, was very likely a Mahála called Oudani, or some similar name.

Art. XIII.—*Brief Notes on Hemachandra or Hemácharya.* By Bha'u Da'ji', Vice-President.

Read January 12th, 1869.

The materials for a life of Hemácharya may be gleaned from the Kumára-pála Charitra, Kumára-pála Prabandha, Prabandha Chintámani, Rishi Mandala Vritti of Jina Bhadra Súri and other Jain works.

The Kumára-pála Prabandha contains the greatest amount of information, sufficient for a volume, but I shall content myself on the occasion with a brief *résumé*.

In the town of Dhunduka, amongst the Modha Vánias, there was a S'reshthí (Seth or merchant) called Cháchiga, whose wife was named Cháhiní, or Páhiní. She gave birth to a son on the full moon of Kártika, Samvat 1145 (A. C. 1088), when a heavenly voice proclaimed that this prodigy would be a promoter of the Jain religion, like Jina himself. The father, after celebrating the child's birth with great rejoicings, named him Chángadeva. When the child was five years old, a Jain Pandit (Devendra) arrived with his congregation at the house of Cháchiga, who happened to be absent. His wife Páhini, however, performed all the duties of hospitality to the Sangha or congregation, which requested her to devote her son to the religious order of ascetics or Yatis. She was placed in great difficulty and distress. If she were to consent to the proposal, the father of the child was not at hand: to refuse would have been an insult to the Sangha. After mature consideration, she resolved to offer the child, and placed her son Chángadeva at the feet of the Guru Devendra Súrí. The child, on being questioned, consented to accept Díkshá, or orders. He was taken to various places of pilgrimage, and lastly to Karnávatí. There Devendra placed Chángadeva at the house of Udayana Mantrí.

Cháchiga, the father, on returning home heard of the destination of his son, and resolved to eat nothing till he saw his child. He came to Devendra Súri at Karnávatí. Hearing the Guru's religious discourse he became delighted, and afterwards ate at the house of Udayana

Mantrí. Udayana having placed Chángadeva on the thigh of Cháchiga, gave him presents of three cloths and three lacs of money. Cháchiga, filled with delight, exclaimed—"You have offered three lacs, and it is worthy of your liberality. Your unparalleled faith is the highest reward for my child, and on this account the son is offered without any recompense. Udayana was pleased, and declared that if the child were offered to the Guru he would attain a position highly revered. "Do what thou thinkest best," said Udayana. Cháchiga consented, and the child was handed over to Devendra, who passed a eulogy on Cháchiga, and initiated Chángadeva at once into the mendicant order.

On this occasion Udayana Mantrí held a grand festival, and gave the child the title of Somadeva Muni.

The S'resthí (merchant) on hearing this, caused a heap of coals to be handled by the child, and it all turned into gold, the guardian spirit having disappeared at the same time. The Sangha (congregation) as well as the merchant were filled with surprise, and ever since Somadeva was styled Hema-chandra, Hema signifying gold.

I have no doubt this story is, like many others, an after invention of the Jain priests, to account for the change of name from Somadeva to Hemachandra. Stories founded on fanciful interpretations of the words or roots composing a name are very common in Jain works. Hemachandra was highly honoured at the court of Siddha Rája and Kumára. pála, the Solanki or Chálukya king of Anahila-pura Pattan in Gujarat. Kumára-píla in particular was proud to consider himself his humble and obedient disciple. By the advice of Hemachandra, Kumára-pála encouraged Jainism, and ordered his subjects to abstain from the destruction of animal life, and from the use of meat as food.

He constructed 1,400 Viháras. Hemachandra thoroughly understood the art of pleasing his patron king. Whilst he steadily kept in view the promotion of Jain doctrines, he was politic enough to yield on many occasions to the prejudices of the king, or of persons of the Brahmanical faith, having great influence with the king and people. Hemachandra is the author of a variety of standard works, as Dhátu páráyana, Siddha Haima S'abdánus'ásana, Prákrita S'abdánu S'ásana, Dvyá-s'raya-kávya, Abhidhána Chintámani with gloss, Anekártha Náma Málá with gloss, Desí-náma-málá with gloss, Tris'asti-s'aláká, purusha-charitra, Paris'ishta Parva, Adhyátmopanishat with commentary, Chhandonus'ásana, Alankára-chúdámaní, and two or three others

in Sanskrit and Prakrit. My learned friend Dr. Bühler has a copy of a Nighanta by Hemácharya, where the characters of the various vegetable articles of the *Materia Medica* are better described than in other Nighantas.

The Jains may justly boast of a long list of learned and pious hierarchs. Yet in this galaxy of names Hemachandra may truly be said to shine as the most brilliant star. In the Kumára-pála Prabandha, Kumára-pála-charitra, Rishi Mandala Vritti and Prabandha Chintámani, there are long stories given regarding Kumára-pála and Hemachandra. Many of these are gross exaggerations, and incredible. Leaving them aside, I have given a brief outline of such as appear to be worthy of credibility.

Hemachandra was born on the full moon of Kártika, Samvat 1145 (A. C. 1088). In Samvat 1154 (A. C. 1097) he was initiated into the priestly orders; in 1166 (A. C. 1109) he obtained the degree or title of Súri, and died in Samvat 1229 (A. C. 1172), at the age of 84.

ART. XIV.—*Brief Notes on Mádhava and Sáyana.* By BHA'U DA'JI', ESQ., Vice-President.

Read January 12th, 1869.

MA'DHAVA AND SA'YANA are now best known to European scholars as the authors of the learned commentary on the Rig-Veda, of which Max Müller has published a magnificent edition. Mádhava Mádhavárya, Mádhaváchárya, or Mádhavámátya, are the names of an illustrious scholar who flourished in the fourteenth century of the Christian era at Vijayánagara (recently Golconda) on the banks of the Tungabhadrá in the Carnatic des'a. In this city Sri Bukka rája of the Yadu Vans'a, reigned. Mádhava was the rájá's minister, and accordingly he sometimes styles himself Mádhavámátya. Mádhava also was the rája's Kula-guru, or family preceptor, and on this as well as on account of his great learning he is called Mádhaváchárya, or Madhavárya. There are many works professing to be his compositions. Some of these were written with the assistance of his younger brother Sáyana. The Bháshya (commentary) on the Rig-Veda, on the Aitareya Bráhmana, and on the Taittiríya Sanhitá, were joint productions with Sáyana. All these are styled by Mádhava Vedárthaprakás'a. At the end of each adhyáya (chapter) of the Bháshya of the Sanhitas the expression occurs "iti Sáyanácharya Virachite Mádhavíye Vedárthprakas'e," *i.e.*, "the end of the chapter of the Vedárthaprakás'a (commentary) of Mádhava, composed by Sáyanáchárya." With the exception of the Bháshya of the Aitareya Bráhmana, all the other above-mentioned Bháshyas, or commentaries, are published.

The word Sáyana is spelt by the Calcutta Pundits with a soft *n*, whilst Max Müller spells it with a hard *n*, with which Sáyana's countrymen would agree.

Mádhava has a tíká or commentary on the Párás'ara Smriti, the chief guide in the Kali age in regard to the Dharma S'ástra. It is superior to that of Nanda Pundit.

A work named Jaiminíya Nyáya Ratnádhikarana Málá is also a production of Mádhava, with a commentary by himself to facilitate the understanding of the Jaiminíya Púrva Mímánsá.

Similarly another work on the Uttara Mímánsá, with a commentary, has been styled Vendántádhikaraṇa Ratnamálá. This follows the order of the Vyása Sútra.

Mádhava in his style is at once learned and deep, yet simple and pleasing. Mádhava's S'ankara Vijaya in praise of the success or glory of the great S'ankaráchárya, is an excellent poetical composition, although it is unsafe as a truthful biography. The work is called S'ankara Vijaya Dindini. In it Mádhava calls himself Abhinava Kálidása, or the new Kálidása, a title not undeserved.

Mádhava's "Kála Mádhava" is a treatise for the calculations of the Hindú Calendar.

A'chárya Mádhava relates the practices of Bráhmanas.

Vyavahára Mádhava treats of Law. Dhátuvritti is a large treatise relating to grammar, but I do not possess a copy, and cannot say which Mádhava is the author of it. Bhattojí Díxita and other modern authors quote Mádhava in the Siddhánta Kaumudí as authority, sometimes also for expressing their dissent. These quotations are in all likelihood from the author of the Dhátuvritti. Mádhava has composed also the Sarva Dars'ana Sangraha, published in the *Bibliotheca Indica.*

In this he clearly enunciates the opinions held by the various sects of Hindu philosophers.

In all his works he gives some information regarding himself. In the beginning of the commentary on the Párás'ara Smriti, after praising Bukka or Bukkana rájá, and stating that he was his mantri or minister, he gives Srímatí as his mother's name, and Máyana as his father's, and also states that Sáyana and Bhoganátha were his uterine brothers. He further adds that he was of the Yajus'a S'ákhá, Bauddháyana Sútra and of the Bháradwája Gotra. The information is not so minute in the other works, but at the end of each chapter occurs the following long sentence :—

इति श्रीराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरमार्गप्रवर्तकश्रीवीरबुक्करराजस्याज्ञापालकेन माध-वामात्येन विरचिते वेदार्थप्रकाशे.

From this it appears that this commentary was his own production, unassisted by Sáyana. Kála Mádhava, A'chára Mádhava, and Vyavahára Mádhava do not mention Sáyana's name, and are therefore the sole productions of Mádhava. I have an independent work by Sáyana, called Yadnya Tantra Sudhá Nidhi.

In the beginning of the Sarva Dars'ana Sangraha, in the little information that Mádhava gives regarding himself, he tells us that his preceptor was Sarvadnya Vishnu, and qualifies himself Sáyana Mádhava, from which it is evident that the production was a joint one with Sáyana.

From the Kála Mádhava and other treatises, Mádhava's guru (preceptor) appears also to have been called Vidyá Tírtha, or Bháratí Tírtha.

The following is an abstract of an account of Mádhava contained in the copper-plate grant published in the Journal of this Society No. III. of 1852, p. 107.

On the banks of the Tungabhadrá, in the Carnatic Des'a, is the shrine of Virúpáksha (now called Hampi-Virupáksha). Near it was Vijayá, the capital. In it reigned a Yádava king named S'ri Sang'ama, after him was S'ri Bukka rája; his son was Harihara. By order of Harihara, the minister Mádhava was ruling at Jayantipura. He besieged the city of Goa in the Conkan, and drove away the Turushkas (Turks or Mahomedans), and re-established the images of Saptanátha (now called Sapta Kotíswara), and after Mádhava's death Harihara appointed Narahari Mantri in Goa as ruler of Jayantipura. This account as made out by me differs to some extent from that given in the Journal, the translation there given being erroneous in many places.

In S'aka 1313 (A.C. 1391) in the year Prajápati, in the month of Vais'ákha, on the wane of the moon, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, Mahámantrísware (the chief of the great ministers), Upanis'an Márgapravartakácháraya (the establisher of the ways of the Upanishads), S'riman Mádhavarája gave the village of Kuchara, after naming it Mádhavapura, to twenty-four Brahmanas.

I possess a copy of a copper-plate grant sent to me by a pundit from Goa, *where in* a short eulogium Víra Harihara is styled the Lord of the East, South and West of India.

In his reign, in Goa, Mádhava the chief of ministers, the guide (mantri or ácházrya) of the ways of the Vedas and Upanishads, a faithful observer of S'rauta and Smárta religious law, of Bháradwája Gotra, the son of Dwivedi Chaundibhatta, the establisher of the linga of Saptánáthá, granted lands publicly in the name of his mother Máchámbiká. The village was called Mánchalápura, "a town of Brahmanas." Lands and houses for Brahmans were created, and the flowing stream was called Mádhava Tírtha. The names of the father and mother differ from those given in Párás'ara Mádhava, and I have grave doubts about the real existence or genuineness of the copper-plate.